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ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ἈΛΙΚΑΡΝΗΣΣΗΣ

ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Α—Β

THE CLIO AND EUTERPE

OF

HERODOTUS

CHIEFLY AFTER THE TEXT OF GAISFORD

WITH PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS AND APPENDICES,
AND ENGLISH NOTES

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OMNIA," ETC.

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PREFACE.



THIS edition of Herodotus aims at furnishing the young Student with the information requisite to the right understanding of the language as well as the subject-matter of the Historian; and will be found, it is hoped, of some service to the advanced Scholar who wishes for a solution, or at all events, for a fair estimate of the difficulties presented to him.

The text adopted is that of Gaisford, printed at the Oxford University Press: the deviations therefrom are rare, and made only after the most mature consideration, and a deference to some authority, of more weight, at least in that particular point.

The Introduction and Appendices have been drawn up for the *information* of the Student, not to satisfy an unprofitable curiosity respecting questions of hopeless perplexity and obscurity.

In the Notes, which are mainly his own, the Editor is under some obligations to the excellent editions of Rawlinson and Blakesley. It may not be out of place perhaps to observe here, that had those editions dealt out the same measure of critical ability to the *language* of Herodotus which they have devoted to the *subject-matter*, the literary gleaners that traverse the same field would have found, it seems, but little to reward their diligence, after the harvesting of such men. Grote, Thirlwall, Bähr, Dahlmann, Turner, and the incomparable

Dictionaries edited by Dr William Smith, have been much consulted, and always with advantage.

It will, on examination, be found that the distinguishing feature of this edition, is the attempt made to encourage, by examples, that rigid *accuracy* of translation, which is the only safe foundation of sound and elegant scholarship. It is almost unaccountable to find in English editions such scanty justice done to the language of this author; and the more especially when we reflect that more than in most others we find *language* to be rather the body in which Herodotus has incorporated his thoughts, than the dress in which he has presented them; and that here indeed the thought and the form of thought seem to have been born and bred together; and to such a degree are they intermingled that we cannot distort a limb, or dislocate a joint, without doing real injury to the inner life of the historian. Probably too, the most striking peculiarity about "The Halicarnassian" is this, as far as *language* goes, that with Dorian blood in his veins, and the Doric dialect on his tongue, as a vehicle for his history, he does not adopt the speech of his mother, and his country, nor yet the pure Ionic of the logographers, nor yet the Attic tongue of Athens, his pride and darling among all the cities of victorious Hellas, but rather a strong and luminous *compound* of *all three*—probably the language of *Thurium*, at which he had settled and, where he wrote, it is said, the great bulk of his history, or at all events gave it its finishing touches. This will explain, too, why Aristotle, speaking of *style* (λέξις), quotes Herodotus as the *Thurian* (*Rhet.* III. 9). Now from Diodorus (XII. 11) we learn that the Thurians were a *mixed* race of Ionians, Athenians, Dorians, and other Greeks who gave their respective names to the tribes which they formed. Beyond question the Ionic is the main ingredient in this composite dialect of Herodotus. Still, to say, with some, that he chose the Ionic

because it was the language of Samos, in which he had settled for a time, is utterly untenable, as we happen to learn from the historian's own words not only that the language of Samos was *not* Ionic, but also the very cause of its not being so (see Book I. 142; III. 147, 149). *Historia Herod.*

It cannot be denied that the chief duty of an annotator on Herodotus is to dwell upon the historical phenomena before him; and yet it is possible to do this without practically ignoring the fact that the language of Greece has a history, as much as the Persian War, and a very important one too, in its bearing on the development of the Grecian mind—a fact all the more cogent here, because it is *in this author* especially the Greek tongue appears to us in its *transition* state,—deeply impressed with the corresponding phenomena as it passed onwards from its old Homeric form to the matured and softened Attic of the elegant Sophocles. Surely Herodotus is not put into the hands of the student, mainly or exclusively, to teach him a certain quantum of Ancient History, but rather along with it, and beyond it, a particular phase in the development of the Greek tongue.

It may be fairly stated that even if the subject-matter of an historian were the *exclusive* province of the annotator, he would certainly be more likely to bring it the more completely under his own dominion, by concentrating every ray of grammatical and philological light, to bring the sense of the author more fully before the mental eye, as Bähr has so creditably endeavoured to do among the German critics. The practical question, what *has* the historian *said*, and with *what modifications?* must of necessity be prior to all discussion of the subject-matter—the question is *in limine*, and ought not to be evaded.

To encourage a rigid and literal accuracy of translation by example, an attempt is made in the notes to render into

English neither more nor less than what the Greek expresses. The shades of signification belonging to particles, to verbs according to their tense and form to synonyms falsely so called, will be found, it is hoped, fairly provided for. A school-master finds by experience that the proverb, "take care of the pence, for the pounds will take care of themselves," has a most happy and appropriate signification when applied to translation from one language to another; for the pupil who takes good care of his *single* words, however small and apparently trivial, is more likely to make the wealth of the sentence his own, which after all is but a series of single words, than the careless, slovenly construer who gives what is most erroneously called "the *spirit* of the author," in a general loose sort of way, which like most other *general* information, on close inspection, turns out to be *ignorance of details, disguised as knowledge, and setting up for it*. Such execution done upon an author, may well reduce him to "a spirit," and banish all chance of sound and correct scholarship.

In conclusion, the Editor, fully conscious of his own shortcomings in the present work, wishes to state that any correction of his errors, from any quarter, will be thankfully received; and begs to subjoin the following excellent remarks on the subject of translation, to be found in the preface of a translation of the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus, by the Rev. W. Sewell, of Exeter College, Oxford:—

"As an exercise for the mind, the value of such a translation is inestimable. It compels, first, a strict attention to minute details of inflexions, tenses, order, and etymology, to the genealogies of significations in words, to slight varieties of accentuation, and to all the other subtleties of a metaphysical grammar. A grammatical scholar, critically instructed, becomes lynx-eyed in observing discrepancies amidst apparent resemblances; and a philosophical scholar, philosophically instructed, becomes equally acute in detecting

analogies and affinities, even in the most dissimilar forms. He cannot exchange a Greek word for an English until he has ascertained its precise value; and the keen, sensitive, quick-sighted Greek marked so many most important distinctions, and conveyed so many comprehensive ideas by almost imperceptible symbols of letters or accents, that a superficial hasty observer is incapable of understanding him: he must place himself at every step as a banker's clerk examining the secret signatures of checks in order to detect forgery, and to save himself from cheating or being cheated. In the second place, in giving change for his Greek words, he must take care not to give an idea less or an idea more than he receives. He is therefore acting perpetually under the sense of a strict external law; there is an outward standard to which he must rigidly conform, a model which he must exactly copy in all its lineaments and colours. The very sense of this, still more the habit of acting on it, is one of the most important elements in a rightly-constituted mind. The observance of an external law is man's chief virtue and chief happiness; and the boy who has been rightly trained to it, in translating a dead language, may be easily led on to apply it to other higher duties and objects. To live under constraint will be no new idea, and to fulfil external obligations no new task. Thirdly, (let us pause to remind the reader who may think these effects and influences to be farfetched and unreal, that the laws and habits of mind are the same, to whatever subjects they are applied, and that Nature has framed us to acquire in the use of meanest things the power of using greatest,) a schoolboy, in translating, is exercised in one of the highest, the most difficult and the most common task of the human intellect, the task of exact adjustment between shifting and uncertain quantities. The great question in morals is, how to bring the variable amount of our own actions into a conformity,

as close as possible, with the unknown amount of our duty: the great question of practical prudence is to realize an exact identity between the unknown events of the future, as laid down in the Divine dispensations, and the vague calculations of our own expectations. So commerce is the bringing into an equitable balance two indefinite terms of value. * * *

"In this task of adjustment, he is called on also to exercise a quick and sensitive taste, discriminating not only the actual logical value of words, but their value in the imagination, as calling up ideas and associations. He must learn to appreciate the nice influences of mere sound, to place himself in the position both of his foreign author and the reader of the translation, and to judge what new development, or altered form, must be given to a metaphor, or figure, or expression, so that the same idea may be conveyed to the one which was intended by the other. Sometimes he will touch a figurative word with an Ithuriel's spear, and make it spring up in a full-formed metaphor. Sometimes he will soften and mellow down, or throw into shade, an idea more harsh or prominent in its modern form, than it would have appeared in the ancient. Sometimes, but rarely, he will venture on suppression, or on the substitution of an analogy for an exact copy. But throughout, he will guard against the temptation to supplant the original by a translation, or to abandon his first duty of rigidly conforming to the model before him."

INTRODUCTION.

LIFE AND WORKS OF HERODOTUS.

HERODOTUS is generally supposed to have been born B.C. 484, in Halicarnassus, a Doric colony in Caria. His family, illustrious in lineage and position, is probably alluded to in Book VIII. 132. His acquaintanceship with an eye-witness of the Persian War may be inferred from Book IX. 16; and his being contemporary with many events of the Peloponnesian War from V. 93, VII. 137, 233, and IX. 73.

We have no trustworthy information touching his early career and education beyond the *internal* evidences of his own work, and this shows him to have been thoroughly imbued with the best and earliest Greek literature. It is impossible to read his Muses without hearing the echo of the grand Epic tone of Homer: with the logographers, as well as with the poetry of Hesiod, Alcæus, Sappho, Simonides, Æschylus, and Pindar, he seems most familiar. According to Suidas he was the son of Lyxes and Dryo, and being unable to bear the tyranny of Lygdamis, he left his native city for Samos, where he settled for a time, making himself fully acquainted with the history of that island, as is evident from his interesting details respecting it. All authorities agree in maintaining the fact of his settlement at Thurii, in Italy (see Preface to this Work), still it seems clear

from Book v. 77, that he must have visited Athens in B.C. 431, the year in which the Peloponnesian war broke out.

The romantic story told by Lucian (who was, we may observe at the same time, the most credulous and incredulous of the ancients), how Herodotus read his work to the assemblage at Olympia, is utterly without foundation, and is in the highest degree improbable and inconsistent with itself (see Dahlmann's Herodotus).

Considering the difficulties and dangers of locomotion in those early days, the extent to which Herodotus travelled is an absolute wonder. Though undoubtedly he seems to have been most at home with the coasts of Asia Minor and with Greece Proper, yet his deep religious feelings moved him to linger with touching veneration and intense love of detail upon Egypt; and with the same spirit of reverential awe, though in a somewhat less degree, he dwells upon the holy seats of Dodona, Delphi, Abæ, Delos, Babylon, Corinth, and Athens: and his professed motive for visiting the queenly Tyre, was merely to gain all the information possible respecting its God Hercules.

The date of his visit to Egypt may be very fairly fixed somewhere about 450 B.C. after the defeat of Inarus by the Persian general Megabyzus, B.C. 456; since we learn from Book III. 12, that he saw the battle-field still covered with the bones and skulls of the slaughtered.

His knowledge of Western Europe seems to have been very incomplete, if it is right to judge from his *silence* on many *obvious* and *important* points, to which he might naturally have alluded; while his making Sardinia the *largest* of all islands (see Bk. I. 170, v. 106, VI. 2) is perfectly unaccountable.

Though "the Thurian" is generally classed with the *historians*, he has equal, if not greater, claims to our

admiration and gratitude as a logographer, antiquarian, geographer, moralist, traveller, story-teller, and in some degree as a naturalist. The extent as well as the miscellaneous diversity of his work, set in the clear crystal of the clearest language ever uttered by man, reminds us more of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham than of anything else we can conceive. Turn where we will, amidst the *ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωρησσά* before us, the eye, though startled and perhaps at first bewildered, reposes with serene delight upon the treasured memorials of lands, languages, epochs, religions and races, so distant and different from each other. Here, as there, we glide on a few steps, and without weariness, from the gloom and grandeur of superstitious Egypt to the bright and beautiful creations of intellectual Hellas; from the slumbrous magnificence of the despotic East, to the court that breathes of the simple and earnest inspirations of the heroic West. Here, as there, we love to recognize many of the same familiar faces of the greatest amongst the children of men; and we read, as in epitome, for the most part the same records of the fluctuating progress of our common humanity, and its marvellous achievements in arts and in arms: at times, too, our ears drink in with thrilling interest the strains of martial music that animate the scene, while at other times we are summoned on the same premises to the quiet lecture, provided for our special instruction and gratification by the respective proprietors. The genius of the Thurian architect rises all the more wonderful from the fact that it called into being not only such a consummate arrangement of materials, but it created most of the very materials themselves by dint of personal inquiry and personal investigation, absolutely inconceivable at that period and with such facilities.

No uninspired historian of the ancient world more clearly sees the finger of God visible in all the scenes

enacted on this earthly theatre than Herodotus; whether he describes the great who have become little, or the little who have become great, his grand aim seems to be to justify the ways of Providence to man: and no wonder, for his whole soul was thoroughly interpenetrated with a profound conviction of the direct and personal intervention of the Deity, and it consequently overflowed with the warmest and purest religious feelings, which he felt it his solemn duty to express. Even the Christian may learn a lesson from the striking contrast which marks his gossiping and open-hearted unreserve and jaunty abandon on all subjects purely *human*, and the delicate, shrinking, thoughtful reserve, with which he seals those pious lips, *that breathe nothing but awe and reverence*, whenever there is a *ἰπὸς λόγος*, which the world at large was not worthy to hear, or he was not worthy or authorized to breathe into its ear.

As a narrator Herodotus is ever simple, lively, homely, without being either silly, bombastic, dull or vulgar. The great tale he tells, with digression after digression, has all the fascination of the Arabian Nights, though intensely deepened with human passions and interests, and intensely exalted by the majestic triumph of Hellenic heroism over the brute force of imperious Persia.

Diligence, honesty, candour, impartiality¹, modesty, naïveté, love of truth, are all marked virtues of his historic spirit; his political views are always moderate, and never narrow; while his thoroughly catholic regard for his fellow-men led him to feel an interest in the barbarous Scythian, in the polished Memphian, and in the reverses of an Adrastus,

¹ The charge of unduly favouring Athens is far from being fairly made out against Herodotus, all that seems clear is that he regarded (and with good reason too) Athens as the saviour of Greece from the Persian yoke, and as such he almost always speaks of her in the highest terms.

which spoke a lesson, inspired by Nemesis, not less human in its teachings than the stupendous catastrophe of a Xerxes.

It is true that *organic* regularity is often wanting in his multifarious matter, and perhaps this could not well be otherwise under the circumstances. Much, too, of his geographical and chronological information is inaccurate, yet we must be careful how far we condemn him for his deficiency in that exact measurement of *time* and *space* that his own age did not, and could not, in many cases adequately supply: perhaps, too, his *Cyclopi*an style of building necessarily required the *Lesbian* rule.

It is here that we first trace in Greek literature the germs of that *critical* acumen, which Aristotle carried to the highest perfection amongst the Greeks. Herodotus not only discriminates between "the possible" and "the probable," he goes farther, and generally stamps his assertions with the image of the authority from which they emanated, that they may be taken exactly for what they are worth. He distinguishes what he *knew* himself to be true from what *seemed to him* true; the whole statements which rest on the authority of *others*, are marked by such terms as λέγουσι, φασί, ^{καὶ τὰ λαοὶ καὶ ἐκ.} κ.τ.λ. Again, when the myth he narrates is too great a task on his credulity, he begins to rationalize it into the limits of the possible and the probable (see especially Book II. 45, and I. 60, II. 49, 55, 57, IV. 95). Owing to a disregard of such pervading distinctions, our author has been grossly misrepresented as extravagant, and given to fabulous exaggeration.

In *Rhet.* III. 9, Aristotle speaks of the style of Herodotus as *unperiodic* (λέξις εἰρομένη): it is the farthest remove from a *written*, elaborated style, and most resembles word-of-mouth discourse, being made up of sentences thrown

together loosely, with phrases for the introduction or repetition of the subject.

We cannot better close these remarks than by the following eloquent quotation from Dahlmann, a most distinguished writer on this subject. "That which charms the readers of Herodotus is that child-like simplicity of heart which is ever the companion of an incorruptible love of truth, and that happy and winning style which cannot be attained by any art or pathetic excitement, and is found only where manners are true to nature: for while other pleasing discourses of men roll along like torrents, and noisily hurry through their short existence, the silver stream of his words flows on without concern, sure of its immortal source, everywhere pure and transparent, whether it be shallow or deep and the fear of ridicule, which sways the whole world, affects not the sublime simplicity of his mind."

ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗ.

ΚΛΕΙΩ.

ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ Ἀλικαρνησσηὸς ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἥδε·
ὅς μῆτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα
γένηται, μῆτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θάυμαστα, τὰ μὲν
Ἕλλησι, τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται·
τὰ τε ἄλλα, καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.

Περσέων μὲν νυν οἱ λόγιοι Φοίνικας αἰτίους φασὶ 1
γενέσθαι τῆς διαφορῆς. τούτους γὰρ, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς
καλεομένης θαλάσσης ἀπικομένους ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν,
καὶ οἰκήσαντας τοῦτον τὸν χώρον τὸν καὶ νῦν οἰ-
κεοῦσι, αὐτίκα ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῇσι ἐπιθέσθαι ἀπαγινέον-
τας δὲ φορτία Αἰγύπτιά τε καὶ Ἀσσύρια, τῇ τε ἄλλῃ
[χώρῃ] ἐσαπικνέεσθαι, καὶ δι' καὶ ἐς Ἀργος· τὸ δὲ Ἀργος
τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον προεῖχε ἅπασι τῶν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἑλλάδι
καλεομένη χώρῃ ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐς δὴ τὸ
Ἀργος τοῦτο, διατίθεσθαι τὸν φόρτον. πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἕκτη
ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἧς ἀπίκοντο, ἐξεμπολημένων σφι σχεδὸν πάν-
των, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν γυναῖκας, ἄλλας τε πολλὰς,
καὶ δι' καὶ τοῦ βασιλέος θυγατέρα· τὸ δὲ οἱ οὐνομα εἶναι,
κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ καὶ Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, Ἰοῦν τὴν Ἰνάχου.
ταύτας στάσας κατὰ πρύμνην τῆς νεὸς, ὠνέεσθαι τῶν
φορτίων, τῶν σφι ἦν θυμὸς μάλιστα· καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας
διακελευσαμένους ὀρμῆσαι ἐπ' αὐτάς. τὰς μὲν δι' πλευνὰς
τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποφυγέειν, τὴν δὲ Ἰοῦν σὺν ἄλλῃσι ἀρ-
πασθῆναι. ἐσβαλομένους δὲ ἐς τὴν νέα, οἴχεσθαι ἀπο-
πλέοντας ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου. Οὕτω μὲν Ἰοῦν ἐς Αἰγυπτον 2
ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι Πέρσαι, οὐκ ὡς Φοῖνικες· καὶ τῶν
ἱκνημάτων τοῦτο ἄρξαι πρῶτον. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Ἑλλή-

νων τινὰς (οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι τοῦνομα ἀπηγήσασθαι) φα-
 τῆς Φοινίκης ἐς Ὑρὸν προσχόντας, ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασι-
 λέος τὴν θυγατέρα Εὐρώπην· εἶψαν δ' ἂν οὗτοι Κρήτε-
 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἴσα σφι πρὸς ἴσα γενέσθαι. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
 Ἕλληνας αἰτίους τῆς δευτέρης ἀδικίης γενέσθαι. κατὰ
 πλώσαντας γὰρ μακρῇ νηϊ ἐς Αἶαν τε τὴν Κολχίδα καὶ
 ἐπὶ Φῶσιν ποταμὸν, ἐνθεύτεν, διαπρηξαμένους καὶ τὰλλ-
 τῶν εἵνεκεν ἀπίκατο, ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέος τὴν θυγατέρα
 Μήδειν. πέμψαντα δὲ τὸν Κόλχον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κί-
 ρυκα, αἰτέειν τε δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς, καὶ ἀπαιτέειν τὴν
 θυγατέρα. τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι, ὥς οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι Ἴους τῆς
 Ἀργείης ἔδοσαν σφι δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς, οὐδὲ ὦν αὐτῶν
 3 δώσειν ἐκείνοισι. Δευτέρῃ δὲ λέγουσι γενεῇ μετὰ ταῦτα
 Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πριάμου, ἀκηκοῦτα ταῦτα, ἐβελῆσαι
 ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος δι' ἀρπαγῆς γενέσθαι γυναῖκα, ἐπιστά-
 μενόν πάντως ὅτι οὐ δώσει δίκας· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκείνους δό-
 δοναι. οὕτω δὲ ἀρπάσαντος αὐτοῦ Ἑλένην, τοῖσι Ἕλλησι
 δόξαι, πρῶτον πέμψαντας ἀγγέλους, ἀπαιτέειν τε Ἑλένην
 καὶ δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς αἰτέειν. τοὺς δὲ, προῖσχομένα
 ταῦτα, προφέρειν σφι Μηδείης τὴν ἀρπαγὴν· ὥς οὐ δό-
 τες αὐτοὶ δίκας, οὐδὲ ἐκδόντες ἀπαιτεόντων, βουλοίατό σφ
 4 παρ' ἄλλων δίκας γίνεσθαι. Μέχρι μὲν ὦν τούτου, ἀρπα-
 γὰς μούνας εἶναι παρ' ἀλλήλων· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου, Ἕλ-
 ληνas δὴ μεγάλως αἰτίους γενέσθαι. προτέρους γὰρ ἄρξαι
 στρατεῦσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, ἢ σφέας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην·
 τὸ μὲν νυν ἀρπάζειν γυναῖκας, ἀνδρῶν ἀδίκων νομίζειν
 ἔργον εἶναι· τὸ δὲ ἀρπασθισέων σπουδὴν ποιήσασθαι
 τιμωρέειν, ἀνοήτων· τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν ὥρην ἔχειν ἀρπά-
 σθισέων, σωφρόνων. δηλα γὰρ δὴ, ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβού-
 λέατο, οὐκ ἂν ἠρπάζοντο. σφέας μὲν δὴ, τοὺς ἐκ τῆς
 Ἀσίης, λέγουσι Πέρσαι, ἀρπαζομένων τῶν γυναικῶν
 λόγον οὐδένα ποιήσασθαι. Ἕλληνας δὲ Λακεδαιμονίῃ
 εἵνεκεν γυναικὸς στόλον μέγαν συναγεῖραι, καὶ ἐπειτὰ
 ἐλθόντας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, τὴν Πριάμου δύναμιν κατελεῖν
 ἀπὸ τούτου αἰεὶ ἠγήσασθαι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σφίσι· εἶνα
 πολέμιον. Τὴν γὰρ Ἀσίην καὶ τὰ ἐνοικέοντα ἔθνεα βάρ-
 βαρα οἰκειῦνται οἱ Πέρσαι, τὴν δὲ Εὐρώπην καὶ τὸ Ἑλ-
 ληνικὸν ἠγῆνται κεχωρίσθαι.

ομιλ.

Οὕτω μὲν Πέρσαι λέγουσι γενέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ὧ
 λωσιν εὐρίσκουσι σφίσι εἶδυσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐχθρῆς τῆς
 τοὺς Ἑλλήνας. Περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰοῦς οὐκ ὁμολογέουσι
 ἱέρσησι οὕτω Φοίνικες. οὐ γὰρ ἀρπαγῇ σφέας χρησα-
 μένους λέγουσι ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐν
 τῷ Ἀργεῖ ἐμίσγετο τῷ ναυκλήρῃ τῆς νεός· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθεν
 ἡ νεὺς εἶδυσαν, αἰδεομένη τοὺς τοκέας, οὕτω δὴ ἐβελοντὴν
 αὐτὴν τοῖσι Φοίνιξι συνεκπλῶσαι, ὥς ἂν μὴ κατάδηλος
 ᾖ. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοίνικες λέγουσι.
 ἡ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ὥς οὕτως ἢ
 ἄλλως κως ταῦτα ἐγένετο· τὸν δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς πρῶτον
 τὰ ῥάξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, τοῦτον σημή-
 νους, προβήσομαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ λόγου, ὁμοίως μικρὰ
 καὶ μεγάλα ἄσπετα ἀνθρώπων ἐπεξιῶν. τὰ γὰρ τὸ πάλαι
 ἐγάλα ἦν, τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν σμικρὰ γέγονε· τὰ δὲ ἐπ'
 αὐτῇ ἦν μεγάλα, πρότερον ἦν σμικρὰ. τὴν ἀνθρωπότην
 ἐπιστάμενος εὐδαιμονίῃν οὐδαμὰ ἐν ταύτῃ μένουσαν,
 τιμνῆσομαι ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως.

Κροῖσος ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος, παῖς δὲ Ἀλυάττεω, τύ-
 αννος δὲ ἐθνέων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλως ποταμοῦ· ὃς ῥέων ἀπὸ
 Κεσαμβρίας μεταξὺ Σύρων καὶ Παφλαγόνων, ἐξίει πρὸς
 βορρῇν ἀνεμὸν ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνῳ καλεόμενον πόντον. Οὗτος
 Κροῖσος, βαρβάρων πρῶτος, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, τοὺς μὲν
 κατεστρέψατο Ἑλλήνων ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, τοὺς δὲ,
 οἰκίλους προσεποίησατο. κατεστρέψατο μὲν Ἰωνάς τε καὶ
 Λιολέας, καὶ Δωριέας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ· φίλους δὲ προσ-
 ποιήσατο Λακεδαιμονίους. πρὸ δὲ τῆς Κροίσου ἀρχῆς
 πάντες Ἕλληνες ἦσαν ἐλεύθεροι· τὸ γὰρ Κιμμερίων στρα-
 τεύμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀπικόμενον Κροίσου ἐὼν πρεσ-
 βύτερον, οὐ καταστροφὴ ἐγένετο τῶν πολιῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξ
 παίδρομῆς ἀρπαγῆς. Ἡ δὲ ἡγεμονίη οὕτω περιήλθε,
 οὐσα Ἡρακλειδέων, ἐς τὸ γένος τὸ Κροίσου, καλεομέ-
 νους δὲ Μερμνάδας. Ἦν Κανδαύλης, τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες
 Μυρσίλον ὀνομάζουσι, τύραννος Σαρδίων, ἀπόγονος δὲ
 Ἀλκαίου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. Ἀγρων μὲν γὰρ ὁ Νίνου, τοῦ
 Βήλου, τοῦ Ἀλκαίου, πρῶτος Ἡρακλειδέων βασιλεὺς
 ἐγένετο Σαρδίων· Κανδαύλης δὲ ὁ Μύρσου, ὕστατος. οἱ
 ἐπὶ πρότερον Ἀγρωνος βασιλεύσαντες ταύτης τῆς χώρας,

ἦσαν ἀπόγονοι Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄττος· ἀπ' ὅτεν ὁ δῆμος Λυδοὶ ἐκλήθη ὁ πᾶς οὗτος, πρότερον Μήων καλεόμενον παρα τούτων Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπιτραφθέντες ἔσχον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ θεοπροπίου, ἐκ δούλης τε τῆς Ἰαρδάνου γεγονότα καὶ Ἡρακλέος, ἄρξαντες μὲν ἐπὶ δύο τε καὶ εἴκοσι γενεαῖς ἀνδρῶν, ἕτεα πέντε τε καὶ πεντακόσια, παῖς παρὰ πατέρα ἐκδεκόμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν, μέχρι Κανδαύλεω τοῦ Μύρσιου.

8 Οὗτος δὲ ὧν ὁ Κανδαύλης ἠράσθη τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γυναίκας ἐρασθεὶς δὲ, ἐνόμιζέ οἱ εἶναι γυναῖκα πολλὸν πασέων καλλίστην. ὥστε δὲ ταῦτα νομίζων ἦν γὰρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμοφόρων Γύγης ὁ Δασκύλου ἀρεσκόμενος μάλιστα· τούτῳ Γύγῃ καὶ τὰ σπουδαιέστερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ὑπερετίθετο ὁ Κανδαύλης, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπερεπένεον. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος, (Χρῆν γὰρ Κανδαύλης γενέσθαι κακῶς,) ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Γύγην τοιαῦτα· “Γύγῃ, οὐ γὰρ σε δοκέω πείθεσθαι μοι λέγοντι περὶ τῆς εἵδεος τῆς γυναικός· (ὅσα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι εἶναι ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν) ποίεις ὅπως ἐκείνην θεήσεται γυνήν.” Ὁ δὲ μέγα ἀμβώσας, εἶπε· “Δέσποτα, τίνα λόγον οὐκ ὑγίεια, κελεύων με δέσποιναν τὴν ἐμὴν θεήσασθαι γυνήν; ἅμα δὲ κιθῶνι ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκδύεσθαι καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή. πάλαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποισι ἐξέρρηται, ἐκ τῶν μανθάνειν δεῖ· ἐν τοῖσι ἐν τῷδε ἐστὶ, σκεπτεῖν τινὰ τὰ ἐωυτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ πείθομαι ἐκείνην εἶναι πᾶσέων γυναικῶν καλλίστην· καὶ σεο δέομαι μὴ δέεσθαι ἀνόμων.” Ὁ μὲν δὲ, λέγων τοιαῦτα, ἀπεμάχετο, ἀρριδέων μὴ τι οἱ ἐξ αὐτέων γένηται κακόν. Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· “Θάρσει Γύγῃ· καὶ μὴ φοβεῖ μῆτε ἐμὲ, ὥς σκεπτεώμενον λόγον τόνδε· μῆτε γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμὴν, μὴ τι πᾶσι· ἐξ αὐτῆς γένηται βλάβος. ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἐγὼ μηχανήσομαι οὕτω, ὥστε μηδὲ μαθεῖν μιν ὀφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ σεῦ. ἐγὼ γὰρ σε ἐς τὸ οἶκημα, ἐν τῷ κοιμώμεθα, ὅπισθε τῆς ἀνοίγματος θύρης στήσω· μετὰ δ' ἐμὲ ἐσελθόντα παρέσται καὶ γυνή ἢ ἐμὴ ἐς κοῖτον. κεῖται δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῆς ἐσόδου θρόνον· ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν ἱματίων κατὰ ἐν ἑκάστον ἐκδύνουσα θήσεται· καὶ κατ' ἡσυχίαν πολλὴν παρέξει τοι θεήσασθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου στείχῃ ἐπὶ τὴν εὐνὴν, κατὰ νύκτου αὐτῆς γένη, σοὶ μελέτω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ὅπως μὴ σε ὄψῃ.

“ἴοντα διὰ θυρέων.” Ὁ μὲν δὴ, ὥς οὐκ ἐδύνατο διαφυγέειν, 10
 ἦν ἐτοῖμος. ὁ δὲ Κανδαύλης, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκεε ὥρῃ τῆς κοίτης
 εἶναι, ἤγαγε τὸν Γύγεα εἰς τὸ οἶκημα· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
 αὐτίκα παρῆν καὶ ἡ γυνή. ἐσελθοῦσαν δὲ καὶ τιθεῖσαν
 τὰ εἴματα ἐθηέιτο ὁ Γύγης. ὥς δὲ κατὰ νώτου ἐγένετο,
 ἰούσης τῆς γυναικὸς εἰς τὴν κοίτην, ὑπεκδύς ἐχώρει ἔξω.
 καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπορεύετο μιν ἐξιόντα. μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιηθὲν ἐκ
 τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, οὔτε ἀνέβρωσεν αἰσχυρθεῖσα, οὔτε ἔδοξε μαθέειν,
 ἐν νῶ ἔχουσα τίσεσθαι τὸν Κανδαύληα. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι
 Λυδοῖσι, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι βαρβάροις,
 καὶ ἄνδρα ὀφθῆναι γυμνὸν, εἰς αἰσχύνην μεγάλην φέρει.
 Τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτως, οὐδὲν δηλώσασα, ἡσυχίην εἶχε· ὥς δὲ 11
 ἡμέρῃ τάχιστα ἐγεγόνεε, τῶν οἰκετέων τοὺς μάλιστα ὥρα
 πιστοὺς ἔοντας ἑωυτῇ, ἐτοίμους ποιησαμένη, ἐκάλεε τὸν
 Γύγεα. Ὁ δὲ, οὐδὲν δοκέων αὐτὴν τῶν πρηχθέντων ἐπί-
 στασθαι, ἦλθε καλεόμενος· ἐώθεε γὰρ καὶ πρόσθε, ὅπως
 ἡ βασιλεία καλέοι, φοιτᾶν. ὥς δὲ ὁ Γύγης ἀπίκητο,
 ἔλεγεν ἡ γυνὴ τάδε· “Νῦν τοι δυοῖν ὁδοῖν παρεουσέων,
 “Γύγη, δίδωμι αἵρεσιν, ὅκοτῆρην βούλει τραπέσθαι· ἡ
 “γὰρ Κανδαύληα ἀποκτείνας, ἐμέ τε καὶ τὴν βασιλῆην
 “ἔχε τὴν Λυδῶν, ἡ αὐτὸν σὲ αὐτίκα οὕτω ἀποθνήσκεις
 “δεῖ· ὥς ἂν μὴ, πάντα πειθόμενος Κανδαύλῃ, τοῦ λοιποῦ
 “ἰδῇς τὰ μὴ σε δεῖ. ἀλλ’ ἤτοι κείνόν γε τὸν ταῦτα βου-
 “λεύσαντα δεῖ ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἡ σὲ, τὸν ἐμὲ γυμνὴν θηη-
 “σάμενον, καὶ ποιήσαντα οὐ νομιζόμενα.” Ὁ δὲ Γύγης
 τέως μὲν ἀπεθώμαζε τὰ λεγόμενα· μετὰ δὲ, ἰκέτενε μὴ
 μιν ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεῖν διακρίναι τοιαύτην αἵρεσιν. οὐκ ὡν δὴ
 ἔπειθε, ἀλλ’ ὥρα ἀναγκαίην ἀληθέως προκειμένην, ἡ τὸν
 δεσπότηα ἀπολλύναι, ἡ αὐτὸν ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἀπόλλυσθαι,
 αἰρέεται αὐτὸς περιεῖναι. ἐπειρώτα δὲ λέγων τάδε· “Ἐπεὶ
 “με ἀναγκάζεις δεσπότηα τὸν ἐμὸν κτείνειν, οὐκ ἐθέλον-
 “τα, φέρε ἀκούσω τέω καὶ τρόπῳ ἐπιχειρήσομεν αὐτῷ.”
 Ἡ δὲ ὑπολαβοῦσα ἔφη, “Ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν χωρίου ἡ
 “ὁρμὴ ἔσται, ὅθεν περ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ ἐπεδέξατο γυμνήν·
 “ὑπνωμένῳ δὲ ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἔσται.” Ὡς δὲ ἤρτισαν 12
 τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, νυκτὸς γινομένης, (οὐ γὰρ μετίετο ὁ
 Γύγης, οὐδὲ οἱ ἦν ἀπαλλαγὴ οὐδεμία, ἀλλὰ ἔδεε ἡ αὐτὸν
 ἀπολωλέναι, ἡ Κανδαύληα,) εἶπετο εἰς τὸν θάλαμον τῇ

- γυναίκε· καὶ μιν ἐκείνη, ἐγχειρίδιον δοῦσα, κατακρύπτει
 ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν θύρην· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἀναπαυόμενον
 Κανδαύλεω, ὑπείσδύς τε καὶ ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν, ἔσχε καὶ
 τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν βασιλητὴν Γύγης· τοῦ καὶ Ἀρ-
 χίλοχος ὁ Πάριος, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γενόμενος, ἐν
 13 ἰάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ ἐπεμνήσθη. Ἔσχε δὲ τὴν βασιλητὴν,
 καὶ ἐκρατύνθη, ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστήριου· ὥς γὰρ
 δὴ οἱ Λυδοὶ δεινὸν ἐποιεῦντο τὸ Κανδαύλεω πάθος, καὶ
 ἐν ὅπλοισι ἦσαν, συνέβησαν ἐς τὸν οὗτε τοῦ Γύγεω
 στασιῶται καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Λυδοί, ἣν μὲν δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον
 ἀνέλη μιν βασιλέα εἶναι Λυδῶν, τόνδε βασιλεύειν ἣν δὲ
 μὴ, ἀποδοῦναι ὀπίσω ἐς Ἡρακλείδας τὴν ἀρχήν· ἀνείλε
 τε δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν οὕτω Γύγης· τοσ-
 ὄνδε μέντοι εἶπε ἡ Πυθίη, ὥς Ἡρακλείδῃσι τίσις ἦξει
 ἐς τὸν πέμπτον ἀπόγονον Γύγεω· τούτου τοῦ ἔπεος
 Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιεῦντο,
 πρὶν δὴ ἐπετελέσθην.
- 14 Ἡ μὲν δὲ τυραννίδα οὕτω ἔσχον οἱ Μερμνάδαι,
 τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἀπελόμενοι· Γύγης δὲ τυραννεύσας
 ἀπέπεμψε ἀναθήματα ἐς Δελφούς οὐκ ὀλίγα· ἀλλ' ὅσα
 μὲν ἀργύρου ἀναθήματα ἔστι οἱ πλεῖστα ἐν Δελφοῖσι·
 πάρεξ δὲ τοῦ ἀργύρου, χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἀνέθηκεν, ἄλλον
 τε, καὶ τοῦ μάλιστα μνήμην ἄξιον ἔχειν ἐστὶ, κρητῆρες
 οἱ ἀριθμὸν ἕξ χρύσειοι ἀνακέαται· ἐστᾶσι δὲ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ
 Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, σταθμὸν ἔχοντες τριήκοντα τάλαν-
 τα· ἀληθείᾳ δὲ λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ, οὐ Κορινθίων τοῦ δημο-
 σίου ἐστὶν ὁ θησαυρὸς, ἀλλὰ Κυψέλου τοῦ Ἡετίωνος.
 Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Γύγης, πρῶτος βαρβάρων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ἐς
 Δελφούς ἀνέθηκε ἀναθήματα, μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Γορδῖεω,
 Φρυγίης βασιλέα· ἀνέθηκε γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μίδης τὸν βασι-
 λῆιον θρόνον, ἐς τὸν προκατίζων ἐδίκασε, ἐόντα ἀξιοθέ-
 τον· κεῖται δὲ ὁ θρόνος οὗτος ἐνθα περ οἱ τοῦ Γύγεω
 κρητῆρες· ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς οὗτος καὶ ὁ ἀργυρὸς, τὸν ὁ Γύγης
 ἀνέθηκε, ὑπὸ Δελφῶν καλέεται Γυγάδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνα-
 θέντος ἐπωνυμίῃ· Ἐσέβαλε μὲν νυν στρατὴν καὶ οὗτος,
 ἐπεὶ τε ἦρξε, ἕς τε Μίλητον καὶ ἐς Σμύρνην, καὶ Κολο-
 φῶνος τὸ ἄστυ εἶλε· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ μέγα ἔργον ἀπ'
 αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ἐγένετο βασιλεύσαντος δυὼν δέοντα τεσσερά-

κοντα ἕτεα, τοῦτον μὲν παρήσομεν, τοσαῦτα ἐπιμνησθέν-
τες. Ἄρδυος δὲ τοῦ Γύγῳ μετὰ Γύγην βασιλεύσαντος 15
μνήμην ποιήσομαι. οὗτος δὲ Πριηνέας τε εἶλε, ἐς Μίλη-
τόν τε ἐσέβαλε· ἐπὶ τούτου τε τυραννεύοντος Σαρδίων,
Κιμμέριοι ἐξ ἡθέων ὑπὸ Σκυθέων τῶν Νομάδων ἐξανα-
στάντες, ἀπικέατο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, καὶ Σάρδις πλὴν τῆς
ἀκροπόλεως εἶλον.]

Λ' Ἄρδυος δὲ βασιλεύσαντος ἐνὸς δέοντα πεντήκοντα 16
ἕτεα, ἐξεδέξατο Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἄρδυος, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν
ἕτεα δυνάδεκα· Σαδυάττῳ δὲ, Ἀλυάττης. Οὗτος δὲ Κυ-
αξάρη τε τῷ Δηϊόκῳ ἀπογόνῳ ἐπολέμησε, καὶ Μήδοισι·
Κιμμερίους τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐξήλασε· Σμύρνην τε τὴν
ἀπὸ Κολοφῶνος κτισθεῖσαν εἶλε, ἐς Κλαζομενάς τε ἐσέ-
βαλε. ἀπὸ μὲν νυν τούτων οὐκ ὥς ἠθέλε ἀπῆλλαξε, ἀλλὰ
προσπταίσας μεγάλως. ἄλλα δὲ ἔργα ἀπεδέξατο ἐὼν ἐν
τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀξιαπληγτότατα τάδε. Ἰ' Ἐπολέμησε Μιλησίοισι, 17
παραδεξάμενος τὸν πόλεμον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. ἐπελαύ-
νων γὰρ ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Μίλητον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ὅκως
μὲν εἴη ἐν τῇ γῇ καρπὸς ἀδρός, τηνικαῦτα ἐσέβαλλε τὴν
στρατιήν. ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὑπὸ συρίγγων τε καὶ πηκτίδων,
καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικείου τε καὶ ἀνδρῆιου. ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Μι-
λησίην ἀπικούτο, οἰκήματα μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν οὔτε
κατέβαλλε, οὔτε ἐνεπίμπρη, οὔτε θύρας ἀπέσπα, ἕα δὲ
κατὰ χώρην ἐστάμεναι· ὁ δὲ τὰ τε δένδρεα καὶ τὸν καρ-
πὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὅκως διαφθείρειε, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω.
τῆς γὰρ θαλάσσης οἱ Μιλησιοὶ ἐπεκράτεον, ὥστε ἐπέδρης
μὴ εἶναι ἔργον τῇ στρατιῇ. τὰς δὲ οἰκίας οὐ κατέβαλλε ὁ
Λυδὸς τῶνδε εἵνεκα, ὅκως ἔχοιεν ἐνθευτεν ὀρμεώμενοι τὴν
γῆν σπείρειν τε καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι οἱ Μιλησιοὶ, αὐτὸς δὲ,
ἐκείνων ἐργαζομένων, ἔχοι τι καὶ σίνεσθαι ἐσβάλλων.
Ταῦτα ποιεῶν, ἐπολέμει ἕτεα ἑνδεκα· ἐν τοῖσι τρώματα 18
μεγάλα διφάσια Μιλησίων ἐγένετο, ἐν τε Λιμενιῷ χώ-
ρῃ τῆς σφετέρῃς μαχεσαμένων, καὶ ἐν Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ.
τὰ μὲν νυν ἐξ ἕτεα τῶν ἑνδεκα Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἄρδυος ἔτι
Λυδῶν ἦρχε, ὁ καὶ ἐσβαλὼν τηνικαῦτα ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην
τὴν στρατιήν (Σαδυάττης γὰρ οὗτος καὶ ὁ τὸν πόλεμον
ἦν συνάψας) τὰ δὲ πέντε τῶν ἐτέων τὰ ἐπόμενα τοῖσι ἐξ
Ἀλυάττης ὁ Σαδυάττῳ ἐπολέμει, ὃς παραδεξάμενος,

- (ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται) παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, προσεῖχε ἐντεταμένως. τοῖσι δὲ Μιλησίοισι οὐδαμοὶ Ἰώνων τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον συνεπελάφρυνον, ὅτι μὴ Χίοι μόνου. οὗτοι δὲ τὸ ὁμοῖον ἀνταποδιδόντες ἐτιμώρεον· καὶ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον οἱ Μιλήσιοι τοῖσι Χίοισι τὸν πρὸς Ἐρυθραίους πόλεμον συνδιήνεικαν. Τῷ δὲ δυωδεκάτῳ ἔτει λήϊον ἐμπιπραμένον ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς, συνηνείχθη τι τοιόνδε γενέσθαι πρῆγμα· ὥς ἄφθη τάχιστα τὸ λήϊον ἀνέμῳ βιώμενον, ἄψατο νηοῦ Ἀθηναίης, ἐπὶ κλησίων Ἀσσησίης. ἀφθεῖς δὲ ὁ νηὸς, κατεκαύθη. καὶ τὸ παραντίκα μὲν λόγος οὐδεὶς ἐγένετο· μετὰ δὲ, τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπικομένης ἐς Σάρδεις, ἐνόσησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης. μακροτέρης δὲ οἱ γενομένης τῆς νόσου, πέμπει ἐς Δελφούς θεοπρόπους, εἴτε δὴ συμβουλευσάντός τευ, εἴτε καὶ αὐτῷ ἔδοξε πέμψαντα τὸν θεὸν ἐπείρεσθαι περὶ τῆς νόσου. τοῖσι δὲ ἡ Πυθίη ἀπικομένοισι ἐς Δελφούς οὐκ ἔφη χρήσειν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἀνορθώσουσι, τὸν ἐνέπρησαν χωρὶς τῆς Μιλησίης ἐν Ἀσσησῶ. Δελφῶν οἶδα ἐγὼ οὕτω ἀκούσας γενέσθαι. Μιλήσιοι δὲ τάδε προστιθείσι τούτοις· Περσὶ ἀνδρὸν τὸν Κυψέλου, ἔοντα Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ τότε Μιλήτου τυραννεύοντι ξεῖνον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, πυθόμενον τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τῷ Ἀλυάττῃ γερόμενον, πέμψαντα ἄγγελον κατεῖπεῖν, ὅπως ἂν τι προειδῶς πρὸς τὸ παρεὸν βουλευῇται. Μιλήσιοι μὲν νυν οὕτω λέγουσι
- 21 γενέσθαι. Ἀλυάττης δὲ, ὥς οἱ ταῦτα ἐξαγγέλθη, αὐτίκα ἔπεμπε κήρυκα ἐς Μίλητον, βουλόμενος σπουδὰς ποιήσασθαι Θρασυβούλῳ τε καὶ Μιλησίοισι χρόνον ὅσον ἂν τὸν νηὸν οἰκοδομή. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπόστολος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἦν· Θρασύβουλος δὲ σαφέως προπεπυσμένος πάντα λόγον, καὶ εἰδὼς τὰ Ἀλυάττης μέλλοι ποιήσειν, μηχανάται τοιαύδε. ὅσος ἦν ἐν τῷ ἄστει σίτος καὶ ἐωυτοῦ καὶ ἰδιωτικὸς, τοῦτον πάντα συγκομίσας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν, προεῖπε Μιλησίοισι, ἐπεὰν αὐτὸς σημήνη, τότε πίνειν τε πάντας
- 22 καὶ κόμῳ χρέεσθαι ἐς ἀλλήλους. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίησε τε καὶ προαγόρευε Θρασύβουλος τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅπως ἂν δὴ ὁ κήρυξ ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς, ἰδὼν τε σωρὸν μέγαν σίτου κεχυμένον, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι ἔοντας, ἀγγείλῃ Ἀλυάττῃ. τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο. ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἰδὼν τε ἐκεῖνα ὁ

κήρυξ, καὶ εἶπας πρὸς Θρασύβουλον τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ
 Λυδοῦ, ἀπῆλθε ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, δι'
 οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐγένετο ἢ διαλλαγή. ἐλπίζων γὰρ ὁ Ἀλυάτ-
 τῆς σιτοδηΐην τε εἶναι ἰσχυρὴν ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ καὶ τὸν
 λεῶν τετρῦσθαι ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ, ἤκουε τοῦ κήρυκος
 νοστήσαντος ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου τοὺς ἐναντίους λόγους ἢ
 ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε. μετὰ δέ, ἢ τε διαλλαγή σφι ἐγένετο,
 ἐπ' ᾧ τε ξείνους ἀλλήλοισι εἶναι καὶ ξυμμάχους. καὶ δύο
 τε αὐτὶ ἐνὸς νηὸς τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ ὠκοδόμησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης
 ἐν τῇ Ἀσσησῷ, αὐτὸς τε ἐκ τῆς νούσου ἀνέστη. κατὰ
 μὲν τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον πόλεμον
 Ἀλυάττη ὧδε ἔσχε.

Περιάνδρος δὲ ἦν Κυψέλου παῖς, οὗτος ὁ τῷ Θρασυ- 23
 βούλῳ τὸ χρηστήριον μηνύσας. ἐτυράννευε δὲ ὁ Περιάν-
 δρος Κορίνθου. τῷ δὴ λέγουσι Κορίνθιοι (ὁμολογεῖνσι δέ
 σφι Λέσβιοι) ἐν τῷ βίῳ θῶμα μέγιστον παραστήναι.
 Ἀρίονα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἐξευεχθέντα ἐπὶ
 Ταίναρον, εόντα κιθαρωδὸν τῶν τότε εόντων οὐδεὶς δεύ-
 τερον, καὶ διθύραμβον, πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν,
 ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ
 τοῦτον τὸν Ἀρίονα λέγουσι, τὸν πολλὸν τοῦ χρόνου δια- 24
 τρίβοντα παρὰ Περιάνδρῳ, ἐπιθυμῆσαι πλῶσαι ἐς Ἰτα-
 λίην τε καὶ Σικελίην· ἐργασάμενον δὲ χρήματα μεγάλα,
 θελῆσαι ὀπίσω ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικέσθαι. ὀρμᾶσθαι μὲν
 νυν ἐκ Τάραντος, πιστεύοντα δὲ οὐδαμοῖσι μᾶλλον ἢ
 Κορινθίοισι, μισθώσασθαι πλοῖον ἀνδρῶν Κορινθίων.
 τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγει ἐπιβουλεύειν, τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐκβα-
 λόντας ἔχειν τὰ χρήματα. τὸν δέ, συνέντα τοῦτο, λίσσεσ-
 θαι, χρήματα μὲν σφι προϊέντα, ψυχὴν δὲ παραιτούμενον.
 οὐκὼν δὴ πείθειν αὐτὸν τούτοις, ἀλλὰ κελεύειν τοὺς
 πορθμέας ἢ αὐτὸν διαχρᾶσθαι μιν, ὡς ἂν ταφῆς ἐν γῇ
 τύχη, ἢ ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ταχίστην. ἀπει-
 ληθέντα δὲ τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐς ἀπορίην, παραιτήσασθαι,
 ἐπειδὴ σφι οὕτω δοκέοι, περιῦδέειν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ σκευῇ
 πάσῃ στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἐδωλίοισι, αἰεῖσαι· αἰέσας δὲ, ὑπε-
 δέκετο ἑωυτὸν κατεργάσασθαι. καὶ τοῖσι ἐσελθεῖν γὰρ
 ἡδονὴν, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀκούσεσθαι τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀνθρώπων
 αἰδοῦ, ἀναχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης ἐς μέσην νεά. τὸν

δὲ, ἐνδύντα τε πᾶσαν τὴν σκευὴν, καὶ λαβόντα τὴν κιθά-
ρην, στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἐδωλίοισι, διεξελθεῖν νόμον τὸν
ὀρθιον· τελευτῶντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου, ῥίψαι μιν ἐς τὴν θά-
λασσαν ἐωυτὸν, ὥς εἶχε, σὺν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ. καὶ τοὺς
μὲν ἀποπλέειν ἐς Κόρινθον· τὸν δὲ, δελφίνα λέγουσι
ὑπολαβόντα ἐξενεῖκαι ἐπὶ Ταίναρον. ἀποβάντα δὲ αὐτὸν
χωρέειν ἐς Κόρινθον σὺν τῇ σκευῇ, καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἀπη-
γέεσθαι πᾶν τὸ γεγονός. Περίανδρον δὲ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας
Ἀρίονα μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν, οὐδαμῇ μετιέντα, ἀνακῶς δὲ
ἔχειν τῶν πορθμέων· ὥς δὲ ἄρα παρεῖναι αὐτοὺς, κλη-
θέντας ἱστορέεσθαι εἴ τι λέγοιεν περὶ Ἀρίονος. φαμένων
δὲ ἐκείνων ὥς εἶη τε σῶς περὶ Ἰταλίνην, καὶ μιν εὖ πρὴς-
σοντα λίποιεν ἐν Τάραντι, ἐπιφανῆναί σφι τὸν Ἀρίονα,
ὥσπερ ἔχων ἐξεπῆδησε· καὶ τοὺς, ἐκπλαγύντας, οὐκ ἔχειν
ἔτι ἐλεγχομένους ἀρνέεσθαι. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν Κορίνθιοί τε
καὶ Λέσβιοι λέγουσι. καὶ Ἀρίονός ἐστι ἀνάθημα χάλκεον
οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ, ἐπὶ δελφίνος ἐπεὼν ἀνθρώπου.

25 Ἀλυάττης δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίου πόλεμον
διενείκας, μετέπειτα τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας ἕτα ἐπτὰ καὶ
πεντήκοντα. ἀνέθηκε δὲ, ἐκφυγὼν τὴν νοῦσον δεύτερος
οὗτος τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης ἐς Δελφοὺς κρητῆρά τε ἀργύρεον
μέγαν, καὶ ὑποκρητηρίδιον σιδηρεὸν κολλητὸν, θέης ἄξιον
διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀναθημάτων· Γλαύκου τοῦ
Χίου ποίημα, ὃς μῦθος δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων σιδήρου
κόλλησιν ἐξεῦρε.

26 Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλυάττεω, ἐξεδέξατο τὴν βασι-
λητὴν Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεω, ἐτέων ἑὼν ἡλικίην πέντε καὶ
τριήκοντα· ὃς δὴ Ἑλλήνων πρῶτοις ἐπεθήκατο Ἐφε-
σίοις. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι πολιορκεόμενοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ,
ἀνέθεσαν τὴν πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἐξάψαντες ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ
σχοινίον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. ἐστὶ δὲ μεταξὺ τῆς τε παλαιῆς
πόλιος, ἣ τότε ἐπολιορκέετο, καὶ τοῦ νηοῦ, ἐπτὰ στάδιοι.
πρῶτοις μὲν δὴ τούτοις ἐπεχείρησε ὁ Κροῖσος· μετὰ
δὲ, ἐν μέρει ἐκάστοις Ἰώνων τε καὶ Αἰολέων, ἄλλοις
ἄλλας αἰτίας ἐπιφέρων· τῶν μὲν ἐδύνατο μέζονας παρευ-
ρίσκειν, μέζονα ἐπαιτιώμενος, τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ φαῦλα
27 ἐπιφέρων. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ Ἕλληνες κατε-
στράφατό ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν ἐπενόεε, νέας

ποιησάμενος, ἐπιχειρέειν τοῖσι νησιώτησι. ἔοντων δέ οἱ πάντων ἐτοίμων ἐς τὴν ναυπηγίην, οἱ μὲν Βίαντα λέγουσι τὸν Πιρηνέα ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σάρδεις, οἱ δὲ Πιττακὸν τὸν Μυτιληναῖον, εἰρομένου Κροῖσου εἴ τι εἴη νεώτερον περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, εἰπόντα τάδε, καταπαῦσαι τὴν ναυπηγίην· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, νησιῶται ἵππον συνωνέονται μυρίην, ἐς Σάρδεις τε καὶ ἐπὶ σὲ ἔχοντες ἐν νῶ στρατεύεσθαι.” Κροῖσον δὲ, ἐλπίσαντα λέγειν ἐκείνον ἀληθέα, εἰπεῖν “Αἱ γὰρ τοῦτο θεοὶ ποιήσκειαν ἐπὶ νόον νησιώτησι, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ Λυδῶν παῖδας σὺν ἵπποισι.” Τὸν δὲ, ὑπολαβόντα φάναι· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, προθύμως μοι φαίναι εὖξασθαι νησιώτας ἵππευομένους λαβεῖν ἐν ἡπείρῳ, οἰκότα ἐλπίζω· νησιώτας δὲ τί δοκέεις εὖχεσθαι ἄλλο, ἢ, ἐπεὶ τε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντό σε μέλλοντα ἐπὶ σφίσι ναυπηγέεσθαι νέας, λαβεῖν ἀρώμενοι Λυδοὺς ἐν θαλάσσῃ, ἵνα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ οἰκημένων Ἑλλήνων τίσωνταί σε, τοὺς σὺ δυνώσας ἔχεις;” Κάρτα τε ἡσθῆναι Κροῖσον τῷ ἐπιλόγῳ· καὶ οἱ (προσφυνέας γὰρ δόξαι λέγειν) πειθόμενον, παύσασθαι τῆς ναυπηγίης. καὶ οὕτω τοῖσι τὰς νήσους οἰκημένοισι Ἴωσι ξεινίην συνεθήκατο.

Χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγινομένου, καὶ κατεστραμμένων σχεδὸν 28 πάντων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλνυος ποταμοῦ οἰκημένων· (πλὴν γὰρ Κιλικῶν καὶ Λυκίων, τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὑπ’ ἐωυτῷ εἶχε καταστρεφάμενος ὁ Κροῖσος· εἰσὶ δὲ οἶδε, Λυδοὶ, Φρύγες, Μυσοὶ, Μαριανδυνοὶ, Χάλυβες, Παφλαγόνες, Θρηῖκες, οἱ Θυνοὶ τε καὶ Βιθυνοὶ, Κᾶρες, Ἴωνες, Δωριεῖς, Αἰολεῖς, Πάμφυλοι) κατεστραμμένων δὲ τούτων, καὶ προσε- 29 πικτωμένου Κροῖσου Λυδοῖσι, ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδεις ἀκμαζούσας πλούτῳ ἄλλοι τε οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σοφισταί, οἱ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐτύγχανον ἔοντες, ὥς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀπικνέοιτο· καὶ δὴ καὶ Σόλων, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς Ἀθηναίοισι νόμους κελεύσασι ποιήσας, ἀπεδήμησε ἕτεα δέκα, κατὰ θεωρίας πρόφασιν ἐκπλώσας, ἵνα δὴ μή τινα τῶν νόμων ἀναγκασθῇ λῦσαι τῶν ἔθετο. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἶοί τε ἦσαν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι Ἀθηναῖον ὀρκίοισι γὰρ μεγάλοισι κατεῖχοντο, δέκα ἕτεα χρήσεσθαι νόμοισι τοὺς ἄν σφι Σόλων θήται. Αὐτῶν δὴ ὧν τούτων 30 καὶ τῆς θεωρίας ἐκδημήσας ὁ Σόλων εἵνεκεν, ἐς Αἴγυπτον

ἀπίκετο παρὰ Ἀμασιν, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Σάρδεις παρὰ Κροῖ-
 σον. ἀπικόμενος δὲ, ἐξεινίζετο ἐν τοῖσι βασιληίοισι ὑπὸ
 τοῦ Κροίσου· μετὰ δὲ, ἡμέρῃ τρίτῃ ἢ τετάρτῃ, κελεύσαν-
 τος Κροίσου, τὸν Σόλωνα θεράποντες περιήγον κατὰ τοὺς
 θησαυροὺς, καὶ ἐπεδείκνυσαν πάντα ἔοντα μεγάλα τε καὶ
 ὄλβια.] θεσάμενον δὲ μιν τὰ πάντα καὶ σκεψάμενον, ὥς
 οἱ κατὰ καιρὸν ἦν, εἶρετο ὁ Κροῖσος τάδε· “Ξεῖνε Ἀθη-
 “ναῖε, παρ’ ἡμέας γὰρ περὶ σέο λόγος ἀπίκται πολλὸς,
 “καὶ σοφίης εἵνεκεν τῆς σῆς καὶ πλάνης, ὥς φιλοσοφῶν
 “γῆν πολλὴν θεωρίης εἵνεκεν ἐπελήλυθας. νῦν ὦν ἵμερος
 “ἐπείρεσθαί μοι ἐπῆλθε, εἴ τινα ἤδη πάντων εἶδες ὀλ-
 “βιώτατον;” Ὁ μὲν, ἐλπίζων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ὀλβιώ-
 τatos, ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα. Σόλων δὲ, οὐδὲν ὑποθωπεύσας,
 ἀλλὰ τῷ ἔοντι χρησάμενος, λέγει· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, Τέλ-
 “λον Ἀθηναῖον.” Αποθωνυμάσας δὲ Κροῖσος τὸ λεχθὲν,
 εἶρετο ἐπιστρεφέως· “Κοίῃ δὴ κρίνεις Τέλλον εἶναι ὀλ-
 “βιώτατον;” Ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “Τέλλῳ, τοῦτο μὲν, τῆς πό-
 “λιος εὖ ἡκούσης, παῖδες ἦσαν καλοὶ τε καὶ αἰσθητοὶ, καὶ
 “σφι εἶδε ἅπασι τέκνα ἐκγενόμενα, καὶ πάντα παραμεί-
 “ναντα· τοῦτο δὲ, τοῦ βίου εὖ ἤκοντι, ὥς τὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν,
 “τελευτὴ τοῦ βίου λαμπροτάτῃ ἐπεγένετο, γενομένης
 “γὰρ Ἀθηναίοισι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐν
 “Ἐλευσίνι, βοηθήσας, καὶ τροπὴν ποιήσας τῶν πολε-
 “μιων, ἀπέθανε κάλλιστα. καὶ μιν Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίῃ τε
 “ἔθαψαν αὐτοῦ τῇ περ ἔπεσε καὶ ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως.”

31 Ὡς δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον προετρέψατο ὁ Σόλων τὸν
 Κροῖσον, εἶπας πολλά τε καὶ ὄλβια, ἐπειρώτα τίνα δεύτε-
 ρον μετ’ ἐκείνῳ ἴδοι, δοκέων πάγχυ δευτερεῖα γῶν οἶσε-
 σθαι. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “Κλέοβιν τε καὶ Βίτωνα. τούτοισι
 “γὰρ, ἐοῦσι γένος Ἀργείοισι, βίος τε ἀρκέων ὑπὴν, καὶ
 “πρὸς τούτῳ, ῥώμῃ σώματος τοιήδε· ἀεθλοφόροι τε ἀμ-
 “φότεροι ὁμοίως ἦσαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος.
 “εἰσὶν ὁρτῆς τῇ Ἡρῇ τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι, ἔδεε πάντως τὴν
 “μητέρα αὐτῶν ζεύγεϊ κομισθῆναι ἐς τὸ ἱρόν· οἱ δὲ σφι
 “βόες ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ οὐ παρεγίνοντο ἐν ὥρῃ· ἐκκλητῶμενοι
 “δὲ τῇ ὥρῃ οἱ νεηνῖαι, ὑποδύντες αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ζεύγλην,
 “εἰλκον τὴν ἄμαξαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης δὲ σφι ὀχέετο ἡ
 “μήτηρ. σταδίους δὲ πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα διακομί-

“σαντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἱρόν· ταῦτα δέ σφι ποιήσασι,
 “καὶ ὀφθείσι ὑπὸ τῆς πανηγύριος, τελευτὴ τοῦ βίου
 “ἀρίστη ἐπεγένετο. διέδεξέ τε ἐν τούτοισι ὁ θεός, ὡς
 “ἄμεινον εἶη ἀνθρώπῳ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν. Ἀρ-
 “γεῖοι μὲν γὰρ περιστάντες ἐμακάριζον τῶν νεηνιέων τὴν
 “ῥώμην· αἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖαι, τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν, οἷον τέκνων
 “ἐκύρησε. ἡ δὲ μήτηρ περιχαρὴς ἐοῦσα τῷ τε ἔργῳ καὶ
 “τῇ φήμῃ, στᾶσα ἀντίον τοῦ ἀγάλματος, εὐχέτο, Κλέοβί-
 “τε καὶ Βίτωνι, τοῖσι ἐωυτῆς τέκνοισι, οἳ μιν ἐτίμησαν
 “μεγάλως, δοῦναι τὴν θεὸν τὸ ἀνθρώπῳ τυχεῖν ἀριστόν
 “ἐστι. μετὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν, ὡς ἔθυσάν τε καὶ εὐω-
 “χῆθησαν, κατακοιμηθέντες ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱρῷ οἱ νεηνίαι,
 “οὐκέτι ἀνέστησαν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τέλει τούτῳ ἔσχοντο. Ἀρ-
 “γεῖοι δὲ σφεων εἰκόνας ποιησάμενοι, ἀνέθεσαν ἐς Δελ-
 “φούς, ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων γενομένων.”

Σόλων μὲν δὴ εὐδαιμονίης δευτερεῖα ἔνεμε τούτοισι. 32
 Κροῖσος δὲ σπερχθεὶς, εἶπε· “ὦ ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, ἡ δὲ
 “ἡμετέρη εὐδαιμονίη οὕτω τοι ἀπέρριπται ἐς τὸ μηδὲν,
 “ὥστε οὐδὲ ἰδιωτέων ἀνδρῶν ἀξιούς ἡμέας ἐποίησας;”
 Ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “ὦ Κροῖσε, ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν
 “ἐὼν φθονερόν τε καὶ ταραχῶδες, ἐπειρωτᾶς ἀνθρωπῶν
 “πρηγμάτων πέρι; ἐν γὰρ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πολλὰ μὲν
 “ἐστὶ ἰδέειν τὰ μὴ τις ἐθέλει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παθεῖν
 “ἐς γὰρ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οὔρον τῆς ζῆς ἀνθρώπῳ προ-
 “τίθῃμι. οὗτοι ἔοντες ἐνιαυτοὶ ἐβδομήκοντα, παρέχονται
 “ἡμέρας διηκοσίας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας καὶ δισμυρίας,
 “ἐμβολίμου μηνὸς μὴ γινομένου. εἰ δὲ δὴ ἐθελήσει τοῦ-
 “τερον τῶν ἐτέων μηνὶ μακρότερον γίνεσθαι, ἵνα δὴ αἱ
 “ὥραι συμβαίνωσι παραγινομένηι ἐς τὸ δέον, μήνες μὲν
 “παρὰ τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οἱ ἐμβόλιμοι γίνονται τριή-
 “κοντα πέντε· ἡμέραι δὲ ἐκ τῶν μηνῶν τούτων, χίλια
 “πεντήκοντα. τούτέων τῶν ἀπασέων ἡμερέων, τῶν ἐς
 “τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτεα ἐουσέων πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκοσίῳ
 “καὶ ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ δισμυρίων, ἡ ἐτέρη αὐτέων τῇ
 “ἐτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ὁμοῖον προσάγει πρῆγμα.
 “οὕτω ὦν, ὦ Κροῖσε, πᾶν ἐστὶ ἀνθρωπος συμφορῇ. ἐμοὶ
 “δὲ σὺ καὶ πλουτέειν μὲν μέγα φαίνεαι, καὶ βασιλεὺς
 “εἶναι πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἐκείνο δὲ τὸ εἶρεό με, οὐκ ἔγωγε σε

- “ἐγὼ λέγω, πρὶν ἂν τελευτήσαντα καλῶς τὸν αἰῶνα ἰ-
 “θωμαι. οὐ γάρ τοι ὁ μέγα πλούσιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐπ’
 “ἡμέρην ἔχοντος ὀλβιώτερός ἐστι, εἰ μὴ οἱ τύχη ἐπί-
 “σποιτο, πάντα καλὰ ἔχοντα τελευτῆσαι εὖ τὸν βίον.
 “πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ζάπλουτοι ἀνθρώπων, ἀνόλβιοι εἰσι·
 “πολλοὶ δὲ μετρίως ἔχοντες βίου, εὐτυχέες. ὁ μὲν δὴ
 “μέγα πλούσιος, ἀνόλβιος δὲ, δυοῖσι προέχει τοῦ εὐτυ-
 “χέος μούνοισι· οὗτος δὲ, τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ ἀνολβίου
 “πολλοῖσι. ὁ μὲν, ἐπιθυμίην ἐκτελέσαι, καὶ ἄτην μεγά-
 “λην προσπεσοῦσαν ἐνεῖκαι δυνατώτερος· ὁ δὲ, τοισίδε
 “προέχει ἐκείνῳ· ἄτην μὲν καὶ ἐπιθυμίην οὐκ ὁμοίως
 “δυνατὸς ἐκείνῳ ἐνεῖκαι, ταῦτα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχίῃ οἱ ἀπερύκει·
 “ἄπηρος δὲ ἐστὶ, ἀνουςος, ἀπαθὴς κακῶν, εὖπαις, εὐειδής.
 “εἰ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι τελευτήσῃ τὸν βίον εὖ, οὗτος
 “ἐκείνους τὸν σὺ ζητεῖς, ὀλβιος κεκλησθαι ἄξιός ἐστι·
 “πρὶν δ’ ἂν τελευτήσῃ, ἐπισχέειν, μηδὲ καλέειν κω ὀλ-
 “βιον, ἀλλ’ εὐτυχέα. τὰ πάντα μὲν νυν ταῦτα συλλα-
 “βεῖν ἀνθρωπον ἔοντα ἀδύνατόν ἐστι, ὥσπερ χώρα οὐδε-
 “μία καταρκέει πάντα ἐωυτῇ παρέχουσα, ἀλλὰ ἄλλο μὲν
 “ἔχει, ἑτέρου δὲ ἐπιδέεται· ἡ δὲ ἂν τὰ πλείστα ἔχῃ,
 “ἀρίστη αὕτη. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα ἐν οὐδὲν αὐ-
 “ταρκές ἐστι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει, ἄλλου δὲ ἐνδεές ἐστι. ὅς
 “δ’ ἂν αὐτῶν πλείστα ἔχων διατελέῃ, καὶ ἔπειτα τελευ-
 “τήσῃ εὐχαρίστως τὸν βίον, οὗτος παρ’ ἐμοὶ τὸ οὖνομα
 “τούτο, ὦ βασιλεῦ, δίκαιός ἐστι φέρεσθαι. σκοπέειν δὲ
 “χρὴ παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτὴν κῆ ἀποβήσεται.
 “πολλοῖσι γὰρ δι’ ὑποδέξας ὀλβον ὁ θεὸς, προρρίζους
 33 “ἀνέτρεψε.”) Ταῦτα λέγων τῷ Κροίσῳ οὐ κως οὔτε
 ἐχαρίζετο, οὔτε λόγου μιν ποιησάμενος οὐδενός, ἀποπέμ-
 πεται· κάρτα δόξας ἀμαθὴς εἶναι, ὅς τὰ παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ
 μετεῖς, τὴν τελευτὴν παντὸς χρήματος ὁρᾶν ἐκέλευε.
- 34 Μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον, ἔλαβε ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις
 μεγάλη Κροίσον· ὡς εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισε ἐωυτὸν εἶναι
 ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ὀλβιώτατον. αὐτίκα δὲ οἱ εὐδοντί
 ἐπέστη ὄνειρος, ὅς οἱ τὴν ἀληθινήν ἔφαινε τῶν μελλόν-
 των γενέσθαι κακῶν κατὰ τὸν παῖδα. ἦσαν δὲ τῷ Κροίσῳ
 δύο παῖδες· τῶν οὐτερος μὲν διέφθαρτο· ἦν γὰρ δι’ κωφός·
 ὁ δὲ ἕτερος, τῶν ἡλικίων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα πρῶτος· οὖνομα

δέ οἱ ἦν Ἄτys. τοῦτον δὴ ὦν τὸν Ἄτyn σημαίνει τῷ Κροίσῳ ὁ ὄνειρος, ὡς ἀπολέει μιν αἰχμῇ σιδηρῇ βληθέντα. ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ τε ἐξεγέρθη, καὶ ἐωυτῷ λόγον ἔδωκε, καταρρωδήσας τὸν ὄνειρον, ἄγεται μὲν τῷ παιδί γυναικα· ἐωθότα δὲ στρατηγέειν μιν τῶν Λυδῶν, οὐδαμῇ ἔτι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο πρῆγμα ἐξέπεμπε. ἀκόντια δὲ καὶ δοράτια, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα τοῖσι χρέονται ἐς πόλεμον ἄνθρωποι, ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρεῶνων ἐκκομίσας, ἐς τοὺς θαλάμους συνένησε, μή τι οἱ κρεμάμενον τῷ παιδί ἐμπέσῃ. Ἐχοντος δὲ οἱ 35 ἐν χερσὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν γάμον, ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις ἀνὴρ συμφορῇ ἐχόμενος, καὶ οὐ καθαρὸς χεῖρας ἔων, Φρυξ μὲν γενεῇ, γένεος δὲ τοῦ βασιλῆως. παρελθὼν δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὰ Κροίσου οἰκία, κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καθαρσίου ἐδέετο κυρῆσαι· Κροῖσος δὲ μιν ἐκάθηρε. ἔστι δὲ παραπλησίη ἡ κάθαρσις τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Ἑλλησι. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐποίησε ὁ Κροῖσος, ἐπυνθάνετο ὁκόθεν τε καὶ τίς εἴη, λέγων τάδε· “Ὤνθρωπε, “τίς τε ἔων, καὶ κόθεν τῆς Φρυγίης ἤκων, ἐπίστιος “ἐμοὶ ἐγένεο; τίνα τε ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν ἐφόνευσας;” Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο· “Ὤ βασιλεῦ, Γορδίῳ μὲν τοῦ Μίδεω “εἶμι παῖς, οὐνομάζομαι δὲ Ἀδρηστὸς· φονεύσας δὲ “ἀδελφεὸν ἐμεωυτοῦ ἀέκων, πάρεμι ἐξεληλαμένος τε “ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐστερημένος πάντων.” Κροῖσος δὲ μιν ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· “Ἀνδρῶν τε φίλων τυγχάνεις “ἐκγονος ἔων, καὶ ἐλήλυθας ἐς φίλους· ἔνθα ἀμχανή- “σεις χρήματος οὐδενὸς, μένων ἐν ἡμετέρου. συμφορὴν “δὲ ταύτην ὡς κουφότατα φέρων, κερδανέεις πλείστον.” Ὁ μὲν δὴ δίαίταν εἶχε ἐν Κροίσου.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, ἐν τῷ Μυσίῳ Οὐλύμπῳ 36 σὺς χρῆμα γίνεται μέγα· ὀρμεώμενος δὲ οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ οὔρεος τούτου, τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν ἔργα διαφθείρεσκε. πολ- λακὶ δὲ οἱ Μυσοὶ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἐξελθόντες, ποιέεσκον μὲν οὐδὲν κακὸν, ἔπασχον δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ. τέλος δὲ, ἀπικό- μενοι παρὰ τὸν Κροῖσον τῶν Μυσῶν ἄγγελοι, ἔλεγον τάδε· “Ὤ βασιλεῦ, υἱὸς χρῆμα μέγιστον ἀνεφάνη ἡμῖν “ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὃς τὰ ἔργα διαφθείρει. τοῦτον προθυμε- “όμενοι ἐλέειν, οὐ δυνάμεθα. νῦν ὦν προσδεόμεθά σευ, “τὸν παῖδα καὶ λογάδας νεηνίας καὶ κύνας συμπέμψαι

- “ἡμῖν, ὥς ἂν μιν ἐξέλωμεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας.” Οἱ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐδέοντο. Κροῖσος δὲ, μνημονεύων τοῦ ὀνείρου τὰ ἔπεα, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· “Παιδὸς μὲν πέρι τοῦ ἐμοῦ “μὴ μνησθῇτε ἔτι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑμῖν συμπέμψαιμι· νεό- “γαμός τε γὰρ ἐστὶ, καὶ ταῦτά οἱ νῦν μέλει. Λυδῶν “μέντοι λογάδας καὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον πᾶν συμπέμψω· “καὶ διακελεύσομαι τοῖσι ἰοῦσι, εἶναι ὡς προθυμοτάτοις
- 37 “συνεξελέειν ὑμῖν τὸ θηρίον ἐκ τῆς χώρας.” Ταῦτα ἀμείψατο· ἀποχρεωμένων δὲ τούτοις τῶν Μυσῶν, ἐπεισέρχεται ὁ τοῦ Κροίσου παῖς, ἀκηκοὺς τῶν ἐδέοντο οἱ Μυσοί. οὐ φαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου τὸν γε παῖδά σφι συμπέμψειν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ νεηνὴς τάδε· “ὦ πάτερ, “τὰ κάλλιστα πρότερόν κοτε καὶ γενναϊότατα ἡμῖν ἦν, “ἐς τε πολέμους καὶ ἐς ἄγρας φοιτέοντας εὐδοκίμειν “νῦν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων με τούτων ἀποκληίσας ἔχεις, οὔτε “τινὰ δειλὴν μοι παριδών, οὔτε ἀθυμῆν. νῦν τε τέοισί “με χρὴ ὄμμασι ἐς τε ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐξ ἀγορῆς φοιτέοντα “φαίνεσθαι; κοῖος μὲν τις τοῖσι πολλήτῃσι δόξω εἶναι; “κοῖος δὲ τις τῇ νεογάμῳ γυναικί; κοῖω δὲ ἐκεῖνη δόξει “ἀνδρὶ συνοικεῖν; ἐμὲ ὦν σὺ ἢ μέθες ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θή- “ρην, ἢ λόγῳ ἀνάπεισον ὅπως μοι ἀμείνω ἐστὶ ταῦτα
- 38 “οὕτω ποιεόμενα.” Ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος τοῖσδε· “ὦ “παῖ, οὔτε δειλὴν, οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι παριδών τοι, “ποιέω ταῦτα· ἀλλὰ μοι ὄψις ὀνείρου ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ “ἐπιστᾶσα ἔφη σε ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἔσεσθαι, ὑπὸ γὰρ “αἰχμῆς σιδηρῆς ἀπολέεσθαι. πρὸς ὦν τὴν ὄψιν ταύ- “την, τὸν τε γάμον τοι τοῦτον ἔσπευσα, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ “παραλαμβάνόμενα οὐκ ἀποπέμπω, φυλακὴν ἔχων εἰ “κως δυναίμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς σε ζόης διακλέψαι. εἰς γὰρ “μοι μῦθος τυγχάνεις ἐὼν παῖς· τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἕτερον,
- 39 “διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοήν, οὐκ εἶναι μοι λογίζομαι.” Ἀ- μείβεται ὁ νεηνὴς τοῖσδε· “Συγγνώμη μὲν, ὦ πάτερ, “τοί, ἰδόντί γε ὄψιν τοιαύτην, περὶ ἐμὲ φυλακὴν ἔχειν “τὸ δὲ οὐ μανθάνεις, ἀλλὰ λέλῃθέ σε τὸ ὄνειρον, ἐμὲ τοι “δίκαιόν ἐστι φράζειν. φῆς τοι τὸ ὄνειρον ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς “σιδηρῆς φάναι ἐμὲ τελευτήσειν· ὑὸς δὲ κοῖαι μὲν εἰσι “χεῖρες, κοίῃ δὲ αἰχμῇ σιδηρῇ, ἦν σὺ φοβέαι; εἰ μὲν “γὰρ ὑπὸ ὀδόντος τοι εἶπε τελευτήσειν με, ἢ ἄλλου τευ ὁ

“τι τούτῳ ἔοικε, χρῆν δὴ σε ποίειν τὰ ποιέεις· νῦν δὲ
 “ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς. ἐπεὶ τε ὦν οὐ πρὸς ἄνδρας ἡμῖν γίνεται
 “ἡ μάχη, μέθες με.” Ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος· “ὦ παῖ, 40
 “ἔστι τῇ με νικᾶς, γνώμην ἀποφαίνων περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπ-
 “νίου· ὡς ὦν νειπκημένος ὑπὸ σέο, μεταγινώσκω, με-
 “τήμιί τε σε ἵεναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἄγρην.” ✓

Εἶπας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος, μεταπέμπεται τὸν Φρύγα 41
 Ἀδρηστον, ἀπικομένῳ δέ οἱ λέγει τάδε· “Ἀδρηστε,
 “ἐγὼ σε συμφορῇ πεπληγμένον ἀχάρι, τὴν τοι οὐκ
 “ὄνειδίζω, ἐκάθηρα, καὶ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος ἔχω,
 “παρέχων πᾶσαν δαπάνην· νῦν ὦν (ὀφείλεις γὰρ, ἐμεῦ
 “προποίησαντος χρηστὰ ἐς σέ, χρηστοῖσί με ἀμείβεσ-
 “θαι) φύλακα παιδός σε τοῦ ἐμοῦ χρηῖζω γενέσθαι,
 “ἐς ἄγρην ὀρμεομένου· μή τινες κατ’ ὁδὸν κλώπες κα-
 “κουργοὶ ἐπὶ δηλήσει φανέωσι ὑμῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ,
 “καὶ σέ τοι χρεῶν ἐστι ἵεναι ἔνθα ἀπολαμπρύνει τοῖσι
 “ἔργοισι· πατρῴῳν τε γὰρ τοι ἐστὶ, καὶ προσέτι ῥώμῃ
 “ὑπάρχει.” Ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἀδρηστος· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, 42
 “ἄλλως μὲν ἔγω γε ἂν οὐκ ἦἴα ἐς ἄεθλον τοιοῦνδε· οὔτε
 “γὰρ συμφορῇ τοιῇδε κεχρημένον οἶκός ἐστι ἐς ὁμήλικας
 “εὖ πρήσσοντας ἵεναι, οὔτε τὸ βούλεσθαι πάρα· πολ-
 “λαχὴν τε ἂν ἴσχον ἐμεωντόν. νῦν δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε σὺ
 “σπεύδεις, καὶ δεῖ τοι χαρίζεσθαι, (ὀφείλω γὰρ σε ἀμεί-
 “βεσθαι χρηστοῖσι,) ποιέειν εἰμὶ ἐτοῖμος ταῦτα. παῖδά
 “τε σὸν, τὸν διακελεύειαι φυλάσσειν, ἀπήμονα τοῦ
 “φυλάσσοντος εἵνεκεν προσδόκα τοι ἀπονοστήσειν.” ✓

Τοιοῦτοισι ἐπεὶ τε οὗτος ἀμείψατο Κροῖσον, ἦϊσαν 43
 μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξηρτυμένοι λογάσι τε νηνήϊσι καὶ κυσί.
 ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Οὐλυμπον τὸ ὄρος, ἐζήτεον τὸ
 θηρίον· εὐρόντες δὲ, καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸ κύκλῳ, ἐση-
 κόντιζον. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ ξείνος, οὗτος δὴ ὁ καθαρθεὶς τὸν
 φόνον, καλεόμενος δὲ Ἀδρηστος, ἀκοντίζων τὸν σὺν,
 τοῦ μὲν ἀμαρτάνει, τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦ Κροῖσου παιδός.
 ὁ μὲν δὴ βληθεὶς τῇ αἰχμῇ ἐξέπλησε τοῦ ονείρου τὴν
 φήμην. ἔθεε δὲ τις ἀγγελῶν τῷ Κροίσῳ τὸ γεγονός·
 ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, τὴν τε μάχην καὶ τὸν τοῦ
 παιδός μόνον ἐσήμνηε οἱ. Ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος, τῷ θανάτῳ 44
 τοῦ παιδός συντεταραγμένος, μᾶλλον τι ἐδεινολογέτο,

- ἵτι μιν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν αὐτὸς φόνον ἐκάθηρε. περιημεκ-
 τέων δὲ τῇ συμφορῇ δεινῶς, ἐκάλεε μὲν Δία Καθάρσιον,
 μαρτυρόμενος τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ξείνου πεπονθῶς εἶη· ἐκάλεε
 δὲ Ἐπίστιόν τε καὶ Ἐταιρήϊον, τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὀνο-
 μάζων θεῶν τὸν μὲν Ἐπίστιον καλέων, διότι δὴ οἰκίοισι
 ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν ξείνον, φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε
 βόσκων· τὸν δὲ Ἐταιρήϊον, ὡς φύλακα συμπέμψας
 45 αὐτὸν, εὐρήκοι πολεμιώτατον. Ὡς Πάρησαν δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο
 οἱ Λυδοὶ φέροντες τὸν νεκρόν· ὅπισθε δὲ εἶπετό οἱ ὁ
 φονεύς. στάς δὲ οὗτος πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ, παρεδίδου ἑω-
 τὸν Κροΐσῳ, προτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, ἐπικατασφάζαι μιν
 κελεύων τῷ νεκρῷ· λέγων τὴν τε προτέρην ἑωυτοῦ
 συμφορὴν, καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ τὸν καθήραντα ἀπολωλεκῶς
 εἶη, οὐδὲ οἱ εἶη βιώσιμον. Κροῖσος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας,
 τὸν τε Ἀδρηστον κατοικτεῖρει, καίπερ ἑὼν ἐν κακῷ
 οἰκῇ τοσούτῳ, καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· “Ἐχω, ὦ ξεῖνε,
 “παρὰ σεῦ πᾶσαν τὴν δίκην, ἐπειδὴ σεωυτοῦ καταδι-
 “κάξεις θάνατον. εἰς δὲ οὐ σύ μοι τοῦδε τοῦ κακοῦ αἴτιος,
 “εἰ μὴ ὅσον ἀέκων ἐξεργάσας· ἀλλὰ θεῶν κού τις,
 “ὅς μοι καὶ πάλαι προεσήμαινε τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι.”
 Κροῖσος μὲν νυν ἔθαψε ὡς οἶκος ἦν τὸν ἑωυτοῦ παῖδα.
 Ἀδρηστος δὲ ὁ Γορδίῳ τοῦ Μίδεω, οὗτος δὴ ὁ φονεύς
 * μὲν τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ γενόμενος, φονεύς δὲ τοῦ καθή-
 ραντος, ἐπεὶ τε ἡσυχίῃ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ
 σῆμα, συγγινωσκόμενος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τῶν αὐτὸς ἦε
 βαρυσυμφορώτατος, ἑωυτὸν ἐπικατασφάζει τῷ τύμβῳ.
 Κροῖσος δὲ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτεα ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ καθήστο,
 τοῦ παιδὸς ἐστερημένος.
- 7
 46 Μετὰ δὲ, ἡ Ἀστυάγῳ τοῦ Κυαξάρῳ ἡγεμονίῃ
 κατααιρεθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω, καὶ τὰ τῶν
 Περσέων πρήγματα αὐξανόμενα, πένθεος μὲν Κροῖσον
 ἀπέπαυσε· ἐνέβησε δὲ ἐς φροντίδα, εἴ πως δύναιτο, πρὶν
 μεγάλους γενέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν
 αὐξανομένην τὴν δύναμιν. Μετὰ ὧν τὴν διάνοιαν ταύ-
 την αὐτίκα ἀπεπειράτο τῶν μαντητῶν τῶν τε ἐν Ἑλλήσι,
 καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ διαπέμψας ἄλλους ἄλλη, τοὺς μὲν
 ἐς Δελφοὺς ἰέναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Ἀβας τὰς Φωκέων, τοὺς
 δὲ ἐς Δωδώνην· οἱ δὲ τινες ἐπέμποντο παρά τε Ἀμφιά-

ρεων καὶ παρὰ Τροφώνιον οἱ δὲ τῆς Μιλησίης ἐς Βραγχίδας. ταῦτα μὲν νυν τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ μαντήια, ἐς τὰ ἀπέπεμψε μαντευσόμενος Κροῖσος. Λιβύης δὲ παρὰ Ἀμμωνα ἀπέστειλε ἄλλους χρησομένους. διέπεμπε δὲ πειρεώμενος τῶν μαντήϊων ὅ τι φρονέουσιν ὥς, εἰ φρονέοντα τὴν ἀληθινήν εὔρεθειν, ἐπείρηται σφεα δευτέρα πέμπων, εἰ ἐπιχειρέοι ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύεσθαι. Ἐν- 47 τειλάμενος δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι τάδε, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς τὴν διάπειραν τῶν χρηστηρίων ἀπ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρης ὀρμηθέωσι ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμερολογέοντας τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον, ἑκατοστῇ ἡμέρῃ χρῆσθαι τοῖσι χρηστηρίοις, ἐπειρωτέοντας ὅ τι ποιέων τυγχάνοι ὁ Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεω. ἄσσα δ' ἂν ἕκαστα τῶν χρηστηρίων θεσπίσῃ, συγγραψαμένους ἀναφέρειν παρ' ἑωτόν. Ὅ τι μὲν νυν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων ἐθέσπισε, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖσι ὥς ἐσήλθον τάχιστα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον οἱ Λυδοὶ χρησόμενοι τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐπειρώτεον τὸ ἐντεταλμένον, ἡ Πυθίη ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ λέγει τάδε·

Οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμον τ' ἀριθμὸν, καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης,
καὶ κωφοῦ συνήμι, καὶ οὐ φωνεῦντος ἀκούω.
Ὀδμῇ μ' ἐς φρένας ἤλθε κραταιρίνοιο χελώνης
ἐφομένης ἐν χαλκῷ ἅμ' ἀρνείοισι κρέεσσι,
ἧ χαλκὸς μὲν ὑπέστρωται, χαλκὸν δ' ἐπίεσται.

Ταῦτα οἱ Λυδοὶ θεσπισάσης τῆς Πυθίης συγγραψάμενοι, 48 οἶχοντο ἀπιόντες ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ περιπεμφθέντες παρήσαν φέροντες τοὺς χρησμούς, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος ἕκαστα ἀναπτύσσων ἐπώρα τῶν συγγραμμάτων. τῶν μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν προσιέτό μιν ὁ δὲ, ὥς τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα προσεύχετό τε καὶ προσεδέξατο, νομίσας μόνον εἶναι μαντήϊον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ὅτι οἱ ἐξευρήκεε τὰ αὐτὸς ἐποίησε. ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ δὴ διέπεμψε παρὰ τὰ χρηστήρια τοὺς θεοπρόπους, φυλάξας τὴν κυρίην τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐμνηχανήσατο τοιαύδε· ἐπινοήσας τὰ ἦν ἀμύχανον ἐξευρεῖν τε καὶ ἐπιφράσασθαι χελώνην καὶ ἄρρα κατακόψας, ὁμοῦ ἔψее αὐτὸς ἐν λέβητι χαλκέῳ, χάλκεον ἐπίθημα ἐπιθείς. Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐκ Δελφῶν οὕτω 49

τῷ Κροίσῳ ἐχρήσθη· κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀμφιάρειν τοῦ μαντήϊου ἀποκρισιν, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι ὅ τι τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἔχρησε ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα. οὐ γὰρ ὦν οὐδὲ τοῦτο λέγεται ἄλλο γε, ἢ ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο ἐνόμισε μαντήϊον ἀψευδὲς ἐκτῆσθαι.

50 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θυσίησι μεγάλῃσι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεὸν ἱλάσκετο. κτήνεά τε γὰρ τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τρισχίλια ἔθυσε, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους, καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας, καὶ εἴματα πορφύρεα· καὶ κιθῶνας, νηήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, κατέκαιε· ἐλπίζων τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλον τι τούτοισι ἀνακτήσεσθαι. Λυδοῖσί τε πᾶσι προεῖπε, θύειν πάντα τινὰ αὐτῶν τούτῳ ὅ τι ἔχοι ἕκαστος. ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίης ἐγένετο, καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἄπλετον, ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλανε· ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα, ποιέων ἑξαπάλαιστα· ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα, τριπάλαιστα· ὕψος δὲ, παλαιστιαιᾶ· ἀριθμὸν δὲ, ἑπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ τουτέων, ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ τέσσαρα, τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον ἕκαστον ἔλκοντα· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμιπλίνθια, λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ, σταθμὸν διτάλαντα. ἐποιέετο δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου, ἔλκουσιν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα. οὗτος ὁ λέων, ἐπεὶ τε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖσι νηὸς, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλινθίων· ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοισι ἰδρυτο· καὶ νῦν κείται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν ἑβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον. ἀπετάκη γὰρ αὐτοῦ τέταρτον ἡμιτάλαντον.

51 Ἐπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφοῦς· καὶ τότε ἄλλα ἅμα τοῖσι κρητῆρας δύο μεγάθει μεγάλους, χρύσειον καὶ ἀργύρεον· τῶν ὁ μὲν χρύσεος ἐκέετο ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσιόντι ἐς τὴν νηὸν, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπ' ἀριστερά. μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ὑπὸ τὸν νηὸν κατακαύντα· καὶ ὁ μὲν χρύσεος κείται ἐν τῷ Κλαζομενίων θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν ἑνατον ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ ἔτι δυώδεκα μνέας· ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος, ἐπὶ τοῦ προνηίου τῆς γωνίης, χωρέων ἀμφορέας ἑξακοσίους. ἐπικίρνεται γὰρ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Θεοφανίοισι. φασὶ δὲ μιν Δελφοὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου ἔργον εἶναι· καὶ ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαίνεται μοι ἔργον εἶναι. καὶ πίθους τε ἀργυρέους τέσσαρας ἀπέπεμψε, οἳ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων

θησαυρῷ ἐστᾶσι· καὶ περιρραντήρια δύο ἀνέθηκε, χρυσέον τε καὶ ἀργύρεον· τῶν τῷ χρυσῷ ἐπιγέγραπται, **ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ**, φαμένων εἶναι ἀνάθημα· οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο Κροῖσου. ἐπέγραψε δὲ τῶν τις Δελφῶν, Λακεδαιμονίοισι βουλόμενος χαρίσασθαι· τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὖνομα, οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς, δι' οὗ τῆς χειρὸς ῥέει τὸ ὕδωρ, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐστί· οὐ μέντοι τῶν γε περιρραντηρίων οὐδέτερον. ἄλλα τε ἀναθήματα οὐκ ἐπίσημα πολλὰ ἀπέπεμψε ἅμα τούτοις· ὁ Κροῖσος, καὶ χεῦματα ἀργύρεα κυκλοτερέα· καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναικὸς εἰδωλον χρύσειον τρίπηνυ, τὸ Δελφοὶ τῆς ἀρτοκόπου τῆς Κροῖσου εἰκόνα λέγουσι εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ, καὶ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γυναικὸς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δειρῆς ἀνέθηκε ὁ Κροῖσος, καὶ τὰς ζώνας. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Δελφούς ἀπέπεμψε· τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιάρεω, 52 πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην, ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρύσειον πᾶν, ὁμοίως καὶ αἰχμὴν στερεὴν πᾶσαν χρυσῆν, τὸ ξυστὸν τῇσι λόγχῃσι ἐδὼν ὁμοίως χρύσειον· τὰ ἔτι καὶ ἀμφότερα ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν κείμενα ἐν Θήβῃσι, καὶ Θηβαίων ἐν τῷ νηῷ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος.

Τοῖσι δὲ ἄγειν μέλλουσι τῶν Λυδῶν ταῦτα τὰ 53 δῶρα ἐς τὰ ἱρά ἐνετέλλετο ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπειρωτᾶν τὰ χρηστήρια, εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας Κροῖσος, καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο φίλον; Ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὰ ἀπεπέμφθησαν οἱ Λυδοὶ ἀνέθεσαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, ἐχρέωντο τοῖσι χρηστηρίοις, λέγοντες· “Κροῖσος, ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βασιλεὺς, “νομίσας τάδε μαντήϊα εἶναι μοῦνα ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ὑμῖν “τε ἄξια δῶρα ἔδωκε τῶν ἐξευρημάτων, καὶ νῦν ὑμέας “ἐπειρωτᾶ, εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ εἴ τινα “στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο σύμμαχον;” Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτεον. τῶν δὲ μαντηῶν ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ αἰ γινώμαι συνέδραμον, προλέγουσαι Κροῖσῳ, ἣν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν μιν καταλῦσαι. τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους συνεβούλευόν οἱ ἐξευρόντα φίλους προσθέσθαι. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἀνενειχθέντα τὰ 54 θεοπρόπια ἐπύθετο ὁ Κροῖσος, ὑπερήσθη τε τοῖσι χρη-

στηρίοισι πάγχυ τε ἐλπίσας καταλύσειν τὴν Κύρου βασιληήν, πέμψας αὐτὶς ἐς Πυθῶ, Δελφοὺς δωρέεται, πυθόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, κατ' ἄνδρα δύο στατήρσι ἕκαστον χρυσοῦ. Δελφοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἔδοσαν Κροῖσα καὶ Λυδοῖσι προμαντήϊν καὶ ἀτελεῖην καὶ προεδρίην, καὶ ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι Δελφὸν ἐς τὸν
 55 αἰὲ χρόνον. Δωρησάμενος δὲ τοὺς Δελφοὺς ὁ Κροῖσος, ἐχρηστηρίαζέτο τὸ τρίτον. ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ δὴ παρέλαβε τοῦ μαντήϊου ἀληθινήν, ἐνεφορέετο αὐτοῦ. ἐπειρώτα δὲ τάδε χρηστηριαζόμενος, εἰ οἱ πολυχρόνιος ἔσται ἢ μουν-
 αρχίη. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ τάδε·

Ἄλλ' ὅτ' ἂν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μῆδοισι γένηται,
 καὶ τότε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρὲ, πολυψήφida παρ' Ἑρμον
 φεύγειν, μῆδὲ μένειν, μῆδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακὸς εἶναι.

- 56 Τούτοισι ἐλθοῦσι τοῖσι ἔπεσι ὁ Κροῖσος πολλόν τι μάλιστα πάντων ἦσθη, ἐλπίζων ἡμίονον οὐδαμὰ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς βασιλεύσειν Μήδων· οὐδ' ὦν αὐτὸς, οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, παύσεσθαι κοτε τῆς ἀρχῆς. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐφρόντιζε ἱστορέων, τοὺς ἂν Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους ἔοντας προσκτῆσαιτο φίλους. ἱστορέων δὲ, εὔρισκε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους προέχοντας, τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένεος, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα ἔοντα τὸ ἀρχαῖον· τὸ μὲν, Πελασγικόν· τὸ δὲ, Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν, οὐδαμῇ κω ἐξεχώρησε· τὸ δὲ, πολυπλάνητον κάρτα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος βασιλῆος οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν· ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου τοῦ Ἑλληνος, τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Οὐλύμπον χώραν, καλεομένην δὲ Ἰστιαιώτιν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος ὡς ἐξανέστη ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἴκεε ἐν Πίνδῳ, Μακεδνὸν καλεόμενον. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ αὐτὶς ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὕτως ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὼν, Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη.
- 57 Ἦν τινα δὲ γλῶσσαν ἴεσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἶπαι. εἰ δὲ χρεῶν ἐστι τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν τοῖσι νῦν ἔτι εἶναι Πελασγῶν, τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστώνᾳ πόλιν οἰκεόντων, οἱ ὅμουροί κοτε ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοισι, οἴκεον δὲ τηνικαῦτα γῆν τὴν

νῦν Θεσσαλιῶτιν καλεομένην καὶ τὴν Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἰκισάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οἱ σύνιοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἔοντα πολίσματα τὸ οὖνομα μετέβαλε· εἰ τοῦτοισι τεκμαιρόμενον δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλώσσαν ἰέντες. εἰ τοίνυν ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὼν Πελασγικόν, ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἑλλήνας καὶ τὴν γλώσσαν μετέμαθε. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρηστωνιῆται οὐδαμοῖσι τῶν νῦν σφεας περιοικεόντων εἰσὶ ὁμόγλωσσοι, οὔτε οἱ Πλακιηνοὶ σφίσι δέ, ὁμόγλωσσοι· δηλοῦσί τε, ὅτι, τὸν ἠνεύκαντο γλώσσης χαρακτῆρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, 58 τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ. Τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν γλῶσση μὲν, ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένετο, αἰεὶ κοτε τῇ αὐτῇ διαχρέεται, ὡς ἐμοὶ καταφαίνεται εἶναι ἀποσχισθὲν μέντοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ, ἐὼν ἀσθενές, ἀπὸ μικροῦ τεο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀρμεώμενον, αὖξεται ἐς πλῆθος τῶν ἐθνέων πολλᾶν, μάλιστα προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βαρβάρων συχῶν. πρὸς δὴ ὧν ἐμοί τε δοκεῖ οὐδὲ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὼν βάρβαρον, οὐδαμὰ μεγάλως αὖξηθῆναι.

Τούτων δὴ ὧν τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν κατε- 59 χόμενον τε καὶ διεσπασμένον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ Ἴπποκράτεος, τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυραννεύοντος Ἀθηναίων. Ἴπποκράτει γὰρ, ἔοντι ἰδιώτῃ, καὶ θεωροῦντι τὰ Ὀλύμπια, τέρας ἐγένετο μέγα. θύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱρά, οἱ λέβητες ἐπεστεῶτες, καὶ κρεῶν τε ἔοντες ἔμπλεοι καὶ ὕδατος, ἄνευ πυρὸς ἕξσαν, καὶ ὑπερέβαλον. Χίλων δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος παρατυχῶν, καὶ θεσάμενος τὸ τέρας, συνεβούλευε Ἴπποκράτει, πρῶτα μὲν γυναῖκα τεκνοποιὸν μὴ ἀγεσθαι ἐς τὰ οἰκία· εἰ δὲ τυγχάνει ἔχων, δεύτερα τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκπέμπειν καὶ εἴ τις οἱ τυγχάνει ἐὼν παῖς, τοῦτον ἀπείπασθαι. οὐκῶν, ταῦτα παραινέσαντος Χίλωνος, πείθεσθαι θέλειν τὸν Ἴπποκράτεια· γενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Πεισίστρατον τοῦτον, ὃς, στασιαζόντων τῶν παράλων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τῶν μὲν προεστεῶτος Μεγακλέος τοῦ Ἀλκμαίωνος, τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Λυκούργου Ἀρι-

στολαΐδew, καταφρονήσας τὴν τυραννίδα, ἤγειρε τρίτην στάσιν. συλλέξας δὲ στασιώτας, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ὑπερακρίων προστάς, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. τρωματίσας ἐαυτὸν τε καὶ ἡμιόνους, ἤλασε ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν τὸ ζεῦγος, ὡς ἐκπεφευγὼς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, οἳ μιν ἐλαύνοντα ἐς ἀγρὸν ἠθέλησαν ἀπολέσαι δῆθεν· ἐδέετό τε τοῦ δήμου φυλακῆς τινὸς πρὸς αὐτοῦ κυρῆσαι, πρότερον εὐδοκιμήσας ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μεγαρέας γενομένη στρατηγίῃ, Νίσαιάν τε ἐλὼν, καὶ ἄλλα ἀποδεξάμενος μεγάλα ἔργα. Ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαπατηθεὶς, ἔδωκέ οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν καταλέξας ἄνδρας τούτους, οἳ δορυφόροι μὲν οὐκ ἐγένοντο Πεισιστράτου, κορυνηφόροι δέ. ξύλων γὰρ κορύνας ἔχοντες εἶποντο οἱ ὀπισθε· συνεπαναστάτες δὲ οὗτοι ἅμα Πεισιστράτῳ, ἔσχον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Πεισίστρατος ἦρχε Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε τιμὰς τὰς ἐοῖσας συνταράξας, οὔτε θέσμια μεταλλάξας· ἐπὶ τε τοῖσι κατεστεῶσι ἔνεμε τὴν πόλιν, κοσμέων καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ.

60 Μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τῶντὸ φρονήσαντες οἳ τε τοῦ Μεγακλέους στασιῶται καὶ οἱ τοῦ Λυκούργου, ἐξελαύνουσί μιν. οὕτω μὲν Πεισίστρατος ἔσχε τὸ πρῶτον Ἀθήνας, καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα οὐκω κάρτα ἐρριζωμένην ἔχων, ἀπέβαλε. οἱ δὲ ἐξελάσαντες Πεισίστρατον, αὐτὶς ἐκ νέης ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐστασίασαν. περιελαυνόμενος δὲ τῇ στάσει ὁ Μεγακλῆς, ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Πεισιστράτῳ, εἰ βούλοιτό οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ἔχειν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι. ἐνδεξαμένου δὲ τὸν λόγον καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος ἐπὶ τούτοις Πεισιστράτου, μηχανῶνται δὴ ἐπὶ τῇ κατόδῳ πρῆγμα εὐθέστατον, ὡς ἐγὼ εὐρίσκω, μακρῶ· ἐπεὶ γε ἀπεκρίθη ἐκ παλαιτέρου τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔθνους τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, εἶναι καὶ δεξιώτερον, καὶ εὐηθὲς ἡλιθίου ἀπηλλαγμένον μᾶλλον· εἰ καὶ τότε γε οὗτοι ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι, τοῖσι πρῶτοις λεγομένοις εἶναι Ἑλλήνων σοφίην, μηχανῶνται τοιάδε. Ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Παιανιείῃ ἦν γυνή, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Φύη, μέγαθος ἀπὸ τεσσέρων πηχέων ἀπολείπουσα τρεῖς δακτύλους, καὶ ἄλλως εὐειδής. ταύτην τὴν γυναῖκα σκευάσαντες πανοπλίῃ, ἐς ἄρμα ἐσβιβάσαντες, καὶ προδέξαντες σχῆμα οἷόν τι ἔμελλε εὐπρεπέστατον φανεῖσθαι ἔχουσα, ἤλαυνον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, προ-

δρόμους κήρυκας προπέμψαντες, οἱ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἡγόρευον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἀπικόμενοι, λέγοντες τοιάδε· “ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, δέκεσθε ἀγαθῷ νόῳ Πεισίστρατον, τὸν αὐτὴ ἡ Ἀθηναίη τιμήσασα ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα, κατὰγει ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῆς ἀκρόπολιν.” Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα διαφοιτέοντες ἔλεγον· αὐτίκα δὲ ἔς τε τοὺς δῆμους φάτις ἀπῆκετο, ὥς Ἀθηναίη Πεισίστρατον κατὰγει· καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει πειθόμενοι τὴν γυναῖκα εἶναι αὐτὴν τὴν θεὸν, προσεύχοντό τε τὴν ἀνθρωπον, καὶ ἐδέκοντο τὸν Πεισίστρατον.

Ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ὁ **61**
Πεισίστρατος, κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίην τὴν πρὸς Μεγακλέα γενομένην γαμέει τοῦ Μεγακλέους τὴν θυγατέρα. οἶα δὲ παίδων τέ οἱ ὑπαρχόντων νεηνιέων, καὶ λεγομένων ἐναγέων εἶναι τῶν Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων, οὐ βουλόμενός οἱ γενέσθαι ἐκ τῆς νεογάμου γυναικὸς τέκνα, ἐμίσγετό οἱ οὐ κατὰ νόμον. τὰ μὲν νυν πρῶτα ἔκρυπτε ταῦτα ἡ γυνή· μετὰ δὲ, εἴτε ἱστορεῦσθαι, εἴτε καὶ οὐ, φράζει τῇ ἐωυτῆς μητρί· ἡ δὲ, τῷ ἀνδρί. τὸν δὲ δεινόν τι ἔσχε, ἀτιμάζεσθαι πρὸς Πεισιστράτου. ὀργῇ δὲ, ὥς εἶχε, καταλλάσσετο τὴν ἔχθρην τοῖσι στασιώτῃσι. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Πεισίστρατος τὰ ποιούμενα ἐπ’ ἐωυτῷ, ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας τὸ παράπαν. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Ἑρέτριαν, ἐβουλεύετο ἅμα τοῖσι παισί. Ἰππiew δὲ γνώμην νικήσαντος, ἀνακτᾶσθαι ὀπίσω τὴν τυραννίδα, ἐνθαῦτα ἤγειρον δωτίνας ἐκ τῶν πολίων, αἵ τινές σφι προηδέατό κού τι. πολλῶν δὲ μεγάλα παρασχόντων χρήματα, Θηβαῖοι ὑπερεβάλλοντο τῇ δόσει τῶν χρημάτων. μετὰ δὲ, οὐ πολλῷ λόγῳ εἵπειν, χρόνος διέφθυ, καὶ πάντα σφι ἐξήρτυτο ἐς τὴν κάτοδον. καὶ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι μισθωτοὶ ἀπίκοντο ἐκ Πελοποννήσου· καὶ Νάξιος σφι ἀνὴρ ἀπιγμένος ἐθελοντῆς, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Λύγδαμις, προθυμίην πλείστην παρείχετο, κομίσας καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνδρας. Ἐξ Ἑρετρίης δὲ ὀρμηθέντες, διὰ **62**
ἐνδεκάτου ἔτεος ἀπίκοντο ὀπίσω. καὶ πρῶτον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἰσχύουσι Μαραθῶνα. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ σφι στρατοπεδευομένοισι, οἳ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος στασιώται ἀπίκοντο, ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῶν δῆμων προσέρρεον, οἷσι ἡ

τυραννὶς πρὸ ἐλευθερίας ἦν ἀσπαστότερον. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ συνηλίζοντο. Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, ἕως μὲν Πεισίστρατος τὰ χρήματα ἡγείρε, καὶ μεταύτις ὡς ἔσχε Μαραθῶνα, λόγον οὐδένα εἶχον. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τοῦ Μαραθῶνος αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, οὕτω δὴ βοηθέουσι ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ οὗτοί τε πανστρατιῇ ἦϊσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατιόντας· καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον, ὡς ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ Μαραθῶνος ἦϊσαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, ἐς τῶντ' οὗτοι συνιόντες ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ Παλληνίδος Ἀθηναίης ἱρὸν, καὶ ἀντία ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα. ἐνθαῦτα θείῃ πομπῇ χρεώμενος παρίσταται Πεισιστράτῳ Ἀμφίλυτος ὁ Ἀκαρυὰν, χρησμολόγος ἀνὴρ, ὅς οἱ προσίων χρεᾶ ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ, τάδε λέγων·

Ἐρριπται δ' ὁ βόλος, τὸ δὲ δίκτυον ἐκπεπέτασται·
θύννοι δ' οἰμήσουσι σεληναίης διὰ νυκτός.

- 63 Ὁ μὲν δὴ οἱ ἐνθεάζων χρεᾶ τάδε· Πεισίστρατος δὲ, συλλαβὼν τὸ χρηστήριον, καὶ φὰς δέκεσθαι τὸ χρηστὸν, ἐπῆγε τὴν στρατιήν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος πρὸς ἄριστον τετραμμένοι ἦσαν δὴ τνικαῦτα· καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον μετεξέτεροι αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν, πρὸς κύβους, οἱ δὲ, πρὸς ὕπνον. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον ἐσπεσόντες, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τρέπουσι. φευγόντων δὲ τούτων, βουλὴν ἐνθαῦτα σοφωτάτην Πεισίστρατος ἐπιτεχνᾷται, ὅπως μήτε ἀλισθεῖεν ἔτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, διεσκεδασμένοι τε εἶεν. ἀναβιβάσας τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ ἵππους, προέπεμπε· οἱ δὲ καταλαμβάνοντες τοὺς φεύγοντας, ἔλεγον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου, θαρσέειν τε κελεύοντες, καὶ
- 64 ἀπιέναι ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ. Πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οὕτω δὴ Πεισίστρατος τὸ τρίτον σχῶν Ἀθήνας, ἐρρίζωσε τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπικούροισι τε πολλοῖσι, καὶ χρημάτων συνόδοισι, τῶν μὲν, αὐτόθεν, τῶν δὲ, ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ συνιόντων· ὁμήρους τε τῶν παραμεινάντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ μὴ αὐτίκα φυγόντων παῖδας λαβὼν, καὶ καταστήσας ἐς Νάξον (καὶ γὰρ ταύτην ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατεστρέψατο πολέμῳ, καὶ ἐπέτρεψε Λυγδάμει) πρὸς τε ἔτι τούτοισι, τὴν νῆσον Δῆλον καθήρας ἐκ τῶν λογίων. καθήρας δὲ ᾧδε. ἐπ' ὅσον ἔποψις

τοῦ ἱροῦ εἶχε, ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χώρου παντὸς ἐξορύξας τοὺς νεκροὺς, μετεφόρεε ἐς ἄλλον χώρον τῆς Δήλου. καὶ Πεισίστρατος μὲν ἐτυράννευε Ἀθηναίων· Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐπεπτώκεσαν, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν μετὰ Ἀλκμαιωνίδεω ἔφευγον ἐκ τῆς οἰκῆς.

Τοὺς μὲν νῦν Ἀθηναίους τοιαῦτα τὸν χρόνον τοῦ- 65
τον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος κατέχοντα· τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαι-
μονίους ἐκ κακῶν τε μεγάλων πεφευγότας, καὶ ἔοντας
ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ κατυπερτέρους Τεγεατέων. ἐπὶ γὰρ
Λέοντος βασιλεύοντος καὶ Ἥγησικλέος ἐν Σπάρτῃ,
τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμους εὐτυχεύοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι,
πρὸς Τεγεήτας μούνους προσέπταιον. τὸ δὲ ἔτι πρό-
τερον τούτων, καὶ κακονομώτατοι ἦσαν σχεδὸν πάντων
Ἑλλήνων, κατὰ τε σφέας αὐτοὺς, καὶ ξείνοισι ἀπρόσ-
μικτοι. μετέβαλον δὲ ὧδε ἐς εὐνομίην. Λυκούργου,
τῶν Σπαρτιητέων δοκίμου ἀνδρὸς, ἐλθόντος ἐς Δελφοὺς
ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ὡς ἐσήϊε ἐς τὸ μέγαρον, εὐθύς ἡ
Πυθίη λέγει τάδε·

Ἦκεις, ὦ Λυκόοργε, ἐμὸν ποτὶ πίονα νηὸν,
Ζηνὶ φίλος, καὶ πᾶσιν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσι.
διζῶ ἢ σε θεὸν μαντεύσομαι, ἢ ἄνθρωπον.
ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον θεὸν ἔλπομαι, ὦ Λυκόοργε.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ τινες πρὸς τούτοις λέγουσι καὶ φράσαι
αὐτῷ τὴν Πυθίην τὸν νῦν κατεστεῶτα κόσμον Σπαρ-
τιήτῃσι. ὡς δ' αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, Λυκούρ-
γον ἐπιτροπεύσαντα Λεωβῶτew, ἀδελφιδέου μὲν ἑω-
τοῦ, βασιλεύοντος δὲ Σπαρτιητέων, ἐκ Κρήτης ἀγα-
γέσθαι ταῦτα. ὡς γὰρ ἐπετρόπευσε τάχιστα, μετέ-
στησε τὰ νόμιμα πάντα, καὶ ἐφύλαξε ταῦτα μὴ παρα-
βαίνειν. μετὰ δὲ, τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα, ἐνωμοτίας
καὶ τριηκίδας καὶ συσσίτια, πρὸς τε τούτοις τοὺς ἐφό-
ρους καὶ γέροντας ἔστησε Λυκούργος. Οὕτω μὲν μετα- 66
βάλοντες εὐνομήθησαν. τῷ δὲ Λυκούργῳ τελευτήσαντι
ἱρὸν εἰσάμενοι, σέβονται μεγάλως. οἷα δὲ ἐν τε χώρῃ
ἀγαθῇ, καὶ πλήθει οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον
αὐτίκα, καὶ εὐθηνήθησαν. καὶ δὴ σφι οὐκέτι ἀπέχρα
ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσ-

σונες εἶναι, ἐχρηστηρίαζοντο ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκαδῶν χώρῃ. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι χρᾶ τάδε·

Ἀρκαδίην μ' αἰτεῖς; μέγα μ' αἰτεῖς· οὐ τοι δώσω.
πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες ἔασι,
οἳ σ' ἀποκωλύσουσιν. ἐγὼ δέ τοι οὐ τι μεγαίρω·
δώσω τοι Τεγέην ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι,
καὶ καλὸν πεδῖον σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι.

Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀρκαδῶν μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπείχοντο· οἱ δὲ, πέδας φερόμενοι, ἐπὶ Τεγεήτας ἐστρατεύοντο, χρησμῷ κιβδηλῶ πίουντο, ὡς δὴ ἐξανδραποδιούμενοι τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ συμβολῇ, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐξωγρήθησαν, πέδας τε ἔχοντες τὰς ἐφέροντο αὐτοῖ, καὶ σχοίνῳ διαμετρησάμενοι τὸ πεδῖον τὸ Τεγεητέων, ἐργάζοντο. αἱ δὲ πέδαι αὐταί, ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέατο, ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν σῶαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, περὶ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης κρεμάμεναι.

- 67 Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν πρότερον πόλεμον συνεχέως αἰεὶ κακῶς ἀέθλεον πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας. κατὰ δὲ τὸν κατὰ Κροῖσον χρόνον, καὶ τὴν Ἀναξανδρίδεω τε καὶ Ἀρίστωνος βασιληίῃ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, ἤδη οἱ Σπαρτιῆται κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγεγόνεσαν, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε γενόμενοι. ἐπειδὴ αἰεὶ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐσσοῦντο ὑπὸ Τεγεητέων, πέμψαντες θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἐπειρώτεον, τίνα ἂν θεῶν ἱλασάμενοι κατύπερθε τῷ πολέμῳ Τεγεητέων γενοίατο. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε, τὰ Ὁρέστω τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὁστέα ἐπαγαγομένους. ὡς δὲ ἀνευρεῖν οὐκ οἶοί τε ἐγινέατο τὴν θήκην τοῦ Ὁρέστω, ἔπεμπον αὐτίς τὴν ἐς θεὸν ἐπειρησομένους τὸν χώρον ἐν τῷ κέοιτο ὁ Ὁρέστης. εἰρωτῶσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι λέγει ἡ Πυθίη τάδε·

Ἔστι τις Ἀρκαδίας Τεγέῃ λευρῷ ἐνὶ χώρῳ,
ἐνθ' ἄνεμοι πνέουσιν δυο κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης,
καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος, καὶ πῆμ' ἐπὶ πῆματι κείται.
ἐνθ' Ἀγαμεμνονίδην κατέχει φυσίζοος αἶα·
τὸν σὺ κομισσάμενος, Τεγέης ἐπιτάρροθος ἔσση.

Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀπείχον

τῆς ἐξευρέσιος οὐδὲν ἔλασσον, πάντα διζήμενοι ἐς οὐ
 δὴ Λίχης, τῶν ἀγαθοεργῶν καλεομένων Σπαρτιητέων
 ἀνεῦρε. οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοεργοὶ εἰσὶ τῶν ἀστῶν, ἐξιόντες ἐκ
 τῶν ἱππέων αἰεὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, πέντε ἔτεος ἐκάστου
 τοὺς δεῖ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, τὸν ἂν ἐξίωσι ἐκ τῶν
 ἱππέων, Σπαρτιητέων τῷ κοινῷ διαπεμπομένους μὴ ἐλι- 68
 νύειν ἄλλους ἄλλη. Τούτων ὧν τῶν ἀνδρῶν Λίχης ἀν-
 εῦρε ἐν Τεγέῃ, καὶ συντυχίῃ χρησάμενος καὶ σοφίῃ.
 εἰσῆς γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιμιξίης πρὸς τοὺς Τεγε-
 ῆτας, ἔλθων ἐς χαλκήϊον, ἐθηεῖτο σίδηρον ἐξελαυνόμενον
 καὶ ἐν θώυματι ἦν, ὁρέων τὸ ποιεόμενον. μαθὼν δὲ μιν
 ὁ χαλκεὺς ἀποθωνμάζοντα, εἶπε παυσάμενος τοῦ ἔργου.
 “Ἦ κου ἂν, ὦ ξεῖνε Λάκων, εἴ περ εἶδες τό περ ἐγώ,
 “κάρτα ἂν ἐθώυμαζες, ὅκου νῦν οὕτω τυγχάνεις θῶυμα
 “ποιεούμενος τὴν ἐργασίην τοῦ σιδήρου. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῇδε
 “θέλων τῇ αὐλῇ φρέαρ ποιήσασθαι, ὀρύσσων ἐπέτυχον
 “σορῶ ἐπαπήχεϊ ὑπὸ δὲ ἀπιστίας μὴ μὲν γενέσθαι
 “μηδαμὰ μέζονας ἀνθρώπους τῶν νῦν, ἀνῶξα αὐτήν, καὶ
 “εἶδον τὸν νεκρὸν μήκει ἴσον ἔοντα τῇ σορῶ. μετρήσας
 “δὲ, συνέχωσα ὀπίσω.” Ὁ μὲν δὴ οἱ ἔλεγε τὰ περ
 ὁπώπεε· ὁ δὲ, ἐννώσας τὰ λεγόμενα, συνεβάλλετο τὸν
 Ὀρέστεα κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τοῦτον εἶναι, τῇδε συμ-
 βαλλεόμενος· τοῦ χαλκέος δύο ὁρέων φύσας, τοὺς ἀνέ-
 μους εὔρισκε ἔοντας· τὸν δὲ ἄκμονα καὶ τὴν σφύραν,
 τὸν τε τύπον καὶ τὸν ἀντίτυπον· τὸν δὲ ἐξελαυνόμενον
 σίδηρον, τὸ πῆμα ἐπὶ πῆματι κείμενον· κατὰ τοιόνδε τι
 εἰκάζων, ὥς ἐπὶ κακῷ ἀνθρώπου σιδήρος ἀνεύρηται. Συμ-
 βαλλεόμενος δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐς Σπάρτην, ἔφραζε
 Λακεδαιμονίοισι πᾶν τὸ πρήγμα. οἱ δὲ, ἐκ λόγου πλασ-
 τοῦ ἐπενείκαντές οἱ αἰτίην, ἐδίωξαν. ὁ δὲ, ἀπικόμενος
 ἐς Τεγέην, καὶ φράζων τὴν ἐωυτοῦ συμφορὴν πρὸς τὸν
 χαλκέα, ἐμισθοῦτο παρ’ οὐκ ἐκδιδόντος τὴν αὐλήν. χρό-
 νῳ δὲ ὥς ἀνέγνωσε, ἐνοικίσθη. ἀνορύξας δὲ τὸν τάφον,
 καὶ τὰ ὀστέα συλλέξας, οἷχετο φέρων ἐς Σπάρτην. καὶ
 ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου, ὅπως περῶατο ἀλλήλων, πολλῶ
 κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγίνοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἥδη
 δέ σφι καὶ ἡ πολλὴ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦν κατεστραμ-
 μένη.

- 69 Ταῦτα δὴ ὦν πάντα πυνθανόμενος ὁ Κροῖσος, ἔπεμπε ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους δῶρά τε φέροντας, καὶ δεησομένους συμμαχίης, ἐντειλόμενός τε τὰ λέγειν χρῆν. οἱ δὲ, ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον· “Ἐπεμψε ἡμέας Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν “τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βασιλεὺς, λέγων τάδε· “ὦ Λακε- “δαιμόνιοι, χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Ἕλληνα φίλον ποσ- “θέσθαι, ὑμέας γὰρ πυνθάνομαι προεστάναι τῆς Ἑλλά- “δος, ὑμέας ὦν κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον προσκαλέομαι, φίλος “τε θέλων γενέσθαι καὶ σύμμαχος ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ “ἀπάτης.” Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα δι’ ἀγγέλων ἐπεκη- ρυκεύετο. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ, ἀκηκούτες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τὸ Κροίσῳ γενόμενον, ἤσθησάν τε τῇ ἀφίξει τῶν Λυδῶν, καὶ ἐποίησαντο ὅρκια ξεινίης πέρι καὶ ξυμ- μαχίης· καὶ γὰρ τινες αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσίαι εἶχον ἐκ Κροί- σου πρότερον ἔτι γεγονυῖαι. πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Λακε- δαιμόνιοι ἐς Σάρδεις, χρυσὸν ὠνέοντο, ἐς ἄγαλμα βουλό- μενοι χρήσασθαι, τοῦτο τὸ νῦν τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐν Θόρνακι ἱδρυται Ἀπόλλωνος· Κροῖσος δὲ σφι ὠνεο- μένοισι ἔδωκε δωτήνην. Τούτων τε ὦν εἵνεκεν οἱ Λακε- δαιμόνιοι τὴν συμμαχίην ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ πάντων σφέας προκρίνας Ἑλλήνων, αἰρέετο φίλους. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἐτοῖμοι ἐπαγγέλαντι τοῦτο δὲ, ποι- ησάμενοι κρητῆρα χάλκεον, ζωδίων τε ἔξωθεν πλήσαν- τες περὶ τὸ χεῖλος, καὶ μεγάθει τριηκοσίους ἀμφορέας χωρέοντα ἦγον, δῶρον βουλόμενοι ἀντιδοῦναι Κροίσῳ. οὗτος ὁ κρητῆρ οὐκ ἀπύκετο ἐς Σάρδεις, δι’ αἰτίας δι- φασίας λεγομένας τάσδε· οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, ὥς ἐπεὶ τε ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις ὁ κρητῆρ ἐγίνετο κατὰ τὴν Σαμίην, πυθόμενοι Σάμιοι ἀπελοίατο αὐτὸν, νηυσὶ μακρῇσι ἐπιπλώσαντες. αὐτοὶ δὲ Σάμιοι λέγουσι, ὥς ἐπεὶ τε ὑστέρησαν οἱ ἄγοντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸν κρητῆρα, ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ Σάρδεις τε καὶ Κροῖσον ἠλωκέναι, ἀπέδοντο τὸν κρητῆρα ἐν Σάμῳ, ιδιώτας δὲ ἄνδρας πριαμένους ἀναθεῖναι μιν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον· τάχα δὲ ἂν καὶ οἱ ἀποδόμενοι λέγοιεν, ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Σπάρ- την, ὥς ἀπαιρεθείσαν ὑπὸ Σαμίων. κατὰ μὲν νυν τὸν κρητῆρα οὕτως ἔσχε.
- 71 Κροῖσος δὲ ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ, ἐποιέετο στρα-

τήν ἑς Καππαδοκίην, ἐλπίσας καταιρήσειν Κύρῳ τε καὶ τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν. παρασκευαζομένου δὲ Κροίσου στρατεῦσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας, τῶν τις Λυδῶν, νομιζόμενος καὶ πρόσθεν εἶναι σοφός, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ κάρτα οὖνομα ἐν Λυδοῖσι ἔχων, συνεβούλευσε Κροίσῳ τάδε· (οὖνομά οἱ ἦν Σάνδανις·) “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπ’ ἀνδρας τοιούτους στρατεῦσθαι παρασκευάζει, “οἱ σκυτίνας μὲν ἀναξυρίδας, σκυτίνην δὲ τὴν ἄλλην “ἐσθῆτα φορέουσι· σιτέονται δὲ οὐκ ὅσα ἐθέλουσι, ἀλλ’ “ὅσα ἔχουσι, χώρην ἔχοντες τρηχείην· πρὸς δὲ, οὐκ “οἶνῳ διαχρέονται, ἀλλὰ ὕδροποτεύουσι· οὐ σῦκα δὲ “ἔχουσι τρώγειν, οὐκ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν. τοῦτο μὲν “δὴ, εἰ νικήσεις, τί σφεας ἀπαιρήσεις, τοῖσί γε μὴ “ἔστι μηδέν; τοῦτο δὲ, ἦν νικηθῆς, μάθε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ “ἀποβαλέεις. γευσάμενοι γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν, “περιέξονται, οὐδὲ ἀπωστοὶ ἔσονται. ἐγὼ μὲν νυν θεοῖσι “ἔχω χάριν, οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον ποιέουσι Πέρσῃσι στρατεῦσθαι ἐπὶ Λυδοῦς.” Ταῦτα λέγων, οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Κροίσον. Πέρσῃσι γὰρ, πρὶν Λυδοὺς καταστρέψασθαι, ἦν οὔτε ἄβρὸν, οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν. Οἱ δὲ Καππαδόκαι 72 ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σύριοι ὀνομάζονται· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Σύριοι οὗτοι, τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἢ Πέρσας ἄρξαι, Μήδων κατήκοοι, τότε δὲ Κύρου. ὁ γὰρ οὗρος ἦν τῆς τε Μηδικῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς Λυδικῆς ὁ Ἄλυσ ποταμός· ὃς ῥέει ἐξ Ἀρμενίου οὗρεος διὰ Κιλικίαν· μετὰ δὲ, Ματινηοὺς μὲν ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχει ῥέων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου Φρύγας· παραμειβόμενος δὲ τούτους, καὶ ῥέων ἄνω πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον, ἔνθεν μὲν Συρίους Καππαδόκας ἀπέργει, ἐξ εὐωνύμου δὲ Παφλαγόνας. οὕτω ὁ Ἄλυσ ποταμὸς ἀποτάμνει σχεδὸν πάντα τῆς Ἀσίης τὰ κάτω ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς ἀντίον Κύπρου ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνου πόντον. ἔστι δὲ αὐχὴν οὗτος τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀπάσης· μῆκος ὁδοῦ, εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ πέντε ἡμέραι ἀναισιμούνται.

Ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίην 73 τῶνδε εἵνεκα· καὶ γῆς ἡμέρῳ, προσκτήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐωντοῦ μοῖραν βουλόμενος· καὶ μάλιστα, τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πίσυνος ἔων, καὶ τίσασθαι θέλων ὑπὲρ Ἀστυάγεος Κύρου. Ἀστυάγεα γὰρ, τὸν Κναξάρεω, ἔοντα Κροί-

σου μὲν γαμβρὸν, Μήδων δὲ βασιλέα, Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσειω καταστρεφάμενος εἶχε, γενόμενον γαμβρὸν Κροίσῳ ὧδε. Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων εἴλη ἀνδρῶν στασιάσασα, ὑπεξῆλθε ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν. ἐτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Μήδων Κναξάρης, ὁ Φραόρτεω, τοῦ Δηϊόκεω· ὃς τοὺς Σκύθας τούτους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον περιεῖπε εὖ, ὡς ἐόντας ἰκέτας· ὥστε δὲ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος αὐτοὺς, παῖδας σφὶ παρέδωκε τὴν γλῶσσάν τε ἐκμαθέειν, καὶ τὴν τέχνην τῶν τόξων. χρόνου δὲ γενομένου, καὶ αἰεὶ φοιτεόντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπ' ἄγρην, καὶ αἰεὶ τι φερόντων, καὶ κοτε συνήνεικε ἐλεῖν σφεας μηδὲν νοστήσαντας δὲ αὐτοὺς κεινῇσι χρυσί, ὁ Κναξάρης (ἦν γάρ, ὡς διέδεξε, ὀργὴν ἄκρος) τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε ἀεικείῃ. οἱ δὲ, ταῦτα πρὸς Κναξάρειω παθόντες, ὥστε ἀνάξια σφέων αὐτῶν πεπονθότες, ἐβούλευσαν τῶν παρὰ σφίσι διδασκομένων παίδων ἓνα κατακόψαι· σκευάσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἐώθεσαν καὶ τὰ θηρία σκευάζειν, Κναξάρει δοῦναι φέροντες, ὡς ἄγρην δῆθεν· δόντες δὲ, τὴν ταχίστην κομίζεσθαι παρὰ Ἀλυάττεα τὸν Σαδνάττεω ἐς Σάρδεις. ταῦτα καὶ δὴ ἐγένετο. καὶ γὰρ Κναξάρης καὶ οἱ παρεόντες δαιτυμόνες τῶν κρεῶν τούτων ἐπάσαντο· καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ταῦτα ποιήσαντες, Ἀλυάττεω 74 ἰκέται ἐγένοντο. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα (οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Ἀλυάττης ἐξεδίδου τοὺς Σκύθας ἐξαιτέοντι Κναξάρει) πόλεμος τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἐγεγόνεε ἐπ' ἕτα πέντε· ἐν τοῖσι πολλάκις μὲν οἱ Μῆδοι τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐνίκησαν, πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Λυδοὶ τοὺς Μῆδους· ἐν δὲ, καὶ νυκτομαχίην τινὰ ἐποίησαντο. διαφέρουσι δὲ σφὶ ἐπὶ ἴσης τὸν πόλεμον, τῷ ἕκτῳ ἔτει συμβολῆς γενομένης, συνήνεικε ὥστε τῆς μάχης συνεστεώσης τὴν ἡμέρην ἐξαπίνης νύκτα γενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ μεταλλαγὴν ταύτην τῆς ἡμέρης Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῖσι Ἰωσι προηγόρευσε ἕσσεσθαι, οὖρον προθέμενος ἐνιαυτὸν τούτου, ἐν ᾧ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ μεταβολή. οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ Μῆδοι ἐπεὶ τε εἶδον νύκτα ἀντὶ ἡμέρης γινομένην, τῆς μάχης τε ἐπαΐσαντο, καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἔσπευσαν καὶ ἀμφότεροι εἰρήνην ἐωυτοῖσι γενέσθαι. οἱ δὲ συμβιβάσαντες αὐτοὺς, ἦσαν οἶδε, Σύννεσις τε ὁ Κιλιξ, καὶ Λαβύνητος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος· οὗτοί

σφι καὶ τὸ ὄρκιον οἱ σπεύσαντες γενέσθαι ἦσαν, καὶ γάμων ἐπαλλαγὴν ἐποίησαν· Ἀλυάττεα γὰρ ἔγνωσαν δοῦναι τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀρὺνην Ἀστυάγει τῷ Κναξάρει παιδί. ἀνευ γὰρ ἀναγκαίης ἰσχυρῆς συμβάσεις ἰσχυραὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσι συμμένειν. Ὅρκια δὲ ποιεῖται ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα τὰ περ τε Ἑλλήνες· καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις, ἔπειαν τοὺς βραχίονας ἐπιτάμονται ἐς τὴν ὁμοχροίην, τὸ αἷμα ἀναλείχουσι ἀλλήλων.

Τοῦτον δὲ ὦν τὸν Ἀστυάγεα Κῦρος, ἔοντα ἑωυτοῦ 75
μητροπάτορα, καταστρεψάμενος ἔσχε δι' αἰτίην τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπίσω λόγοις σημανέω. τὰ Κροῖσος ἐπιμεμ-
φόμενος τῷ Κύρῳ, ἔς τε τὰ χρηστήρια ἔπεμπε, εἰ στρα-
τεῖται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπικομένου χρησμοῦ
κιβδήλου, ἐλπίσας πρὸς ἑωυτοῦ τὸν χρησμὸν εἶναι, ἐ-
στρατεύετο ἐς τὴν Περσέων μοῖραν. Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο
ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν, ὡς μὲν
ἐγὼ λέγω, κατὰ τὰς εἰσάσας γεφύρας διεβίβασε τὸν στρα-
τόν· ὡς δὲ ὁ πολλὸς λόγος Ἑλλήνων, Θαλῆς οἱ ὁ Μιλή-
σιος διεβίβασε. ἀπορέοντος γὰρ Κροῖσου ὅπως οἱ δια-
βήσεται τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ στρατὸς, (οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἶναι κω
τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τὰς γεφύρας ταύτας,) λέγεται παρ-
έοντα τὸν Θαλὴν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ τὸν
ποταμὸν, ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ῥέοντα τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ
ἐκ δεξιῆς ῥεῖν ποιῆσαι δὲ ὧδε. ἄνωθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου
ἀρξάμενον, διώρυχα βαθὴν ὀρύσσειν, ἄγοντα μνηοειδέα,
ὅπως ἂν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἰδρυμένον κατὰ νότον λάβοι,
ταύτῃ κατὰ τὴν διώρυχα ἐκτραπόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων
ῥέεθρων, καὶ αὗτις παραμειβόμενος τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐς
τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐσβάλλοι. ὥστε, ἐπεὶ τε καὶ ἐσχίσθη τά-
χιστα ὁ ποταμὸς, ἀμφοτέρῃ διαβατὸς ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ
καὶ τὸ παράπαν λέγουσι καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον ἀπο-
ξηρανθῆναι. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ προσίεμαι· κῶς γὰρ
ὀπίσω πορευόμενοι διέβησαν αὐτόν; Κροῖσος δὲ, ἐπεὶ 76
τε διαβὰς σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀπίκετο τῆς Καππαδοκίης ἐς
τὴν Πτερὶν καλεομένην (ἣ δὲ Πτερὶς ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας
ταύτης τὸ ἰσχυρότατον, κατὰ Σινώπην πόλιν τὴν ἐν
Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ μάλιστα κη κειμένη) ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρα-
τοπεδεύετο, φθείρων τῶν Συρίων τοὺς κλήρους. καὶ εἶλε

μὲν τῶν Πτερίων τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἡνδραποδίσατο· εἶλε δὲ τὰς περιοικίδας αὐτῆς πάσας· Συρίους τε, οὐδὲν ἔοντας αἰτίους, ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε. Κῦρος δὲ ἀγείρας τὸν ἑωυτοῦ στρατὸν, καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς μεταξὺ οἰκέοντας πάντας, ἡντιοῦτο Κροίσῳ. πρὶν δὲ ἐξελαύνειν ὀρμῆσαι τὸν στρατὸν, πέμψας κήρυκας ἐς τοὺς Ἴωνας, ἐπειρᾶτό σφεας ἀπὸ Κροίσου ἀπιστάμεναι· Ἴωνες μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐπέιθοντο. Κῦρος δὲ ὡς ἀπίκετο, καὶ ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο Κροίσῳ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ Πτερίῃ χώρῃ ἐπειρώατο κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἀλλήλων. μάχης δὲ καρτερῆς γενομένης, καὶ πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν, τέλος οὐδέτεροι νίκησαντες διέστησαν, νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης. καὶ τὰ μὲν στρατόπεδα ἀμφοτέρα οὕτως ἡγωνίσατο.

77 Κροίσος δὲ, μεμφθεὶς κατὰ τὸ πλήθος τὸ ἑωυτοῦ στρατεύμα· (ἦν γὰρ οἱ ὁ συμβαλὼν στρατὸς πολλὸν ἐλάσσων ἢ ὁ Κύρου) τοῦτο μεμφθεὶς, ὡς τῇ ὑστεραίῃ οὐκ ἐπειρᾶτο ἐπιῶν ὁ Κῦρος, ἀπήλυνε ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ἐν νῶϊ ἔχων, παρακαλέσας μὲν Αἰγυπτίους κατὰ τὸ ὄρκιον, (ἐποίησατο γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Ἀμασιν βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου συμμαχίην πρότερον ἥπερ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους,) μεταπεμφθήμενος δὲ καὶ Βαβυλωνίους, (καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τούτους αὐτῷ ἐπεποιήτο συμμαχίη· ἐτυράννευε δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Λαβύνητος) ἐπαγγείλας δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους παρεῖναι ἐς χρόνον ῥητόν· ἀλίσας τε δὴ τούτους, καὶ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ συλλέξας στρατιήν, ἐνένωτο, τὸν χειμῶνα παρεῖς, ἅμα τῷ ἡρι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ ὁ μὲν, ταῦτα φρονέων, ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ἔπεμπε κήρυκας κατὰ τὰς συμμαχίας, προερέοντας ἐς πέμπτου μηνὸς συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδεις. τὸν δὲ παρῶντα καὶ μαχεσάμενον στρατὸν Πέρσῃσι, ὃς ἦν αὐτοῦ ξεινικός, πάντα ἀπείλεις, διεσκέδασε· οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίσας μή κοτε ἄρα ἀγωνισάμενος οὕτω παραπλησίως Κῦρος ἐλάσει ἐπὶ Σάρδεις.

78 Ταῦτα ἐπιλεγόμενῳ Κροίσῳ τὸ προάστειον πᾶν ὀφίον ἐνεπλήσθη. φανέντων δὲ αὐτῶν, οἱ ἵπποι μετιέντες τὰς νομὰς νέμεσθαι, φοιτέοντες κατήσθιον. ἰδόντι δὲ τοῦτο Κροίσῳ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἦν, ἔδοξε τέρας εἶναι. αὐτίκα δὲ ἔπεμπε θεοπρόπους ἐς τῶν ἐξηγητῶν Τελμησέων. ἀπι-

κομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι, καὶ μαθοῦσι πρὸς Τελμησσέων τὸ θέλει σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας, οὐκ ἐξεγένετο Κροίσῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι. πρὶν γὰρ ἢ ὀπίσω σφέας ἀναπλῶσαι ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ἤλω ὁ Κροῖσος. Τελμησσέες μὲν τοι τάδε ἔγνωσαν, στρατὸν ἀλλόθροον προσδόκιμον εἶναι Κροίσῳ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, ἀπικόμενον δὲ τοῦτον καταστρέψεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους· λέγοντες ὄφιν εἶναι γῆς παῖδα, ἵππον δὲ, πολέμιον τε καὶ ἐπήλυδα. Τελμησσέες μὲν νυν ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο Κροίσῳ ἤδη ἡλωκότι, οὐδὲν κω εἰδότες τῶν ἦν περὶ Σάρδεις τε καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον.

Κῦρος δὲ, αὐτίκα ἀπελαύνοντος Κροῖσου μετὰ τὴν 79 μάχην τὴν γενομένην ἐν τῇ Πτερίῃ, μαθὼν ὡς ἀπελάσας μέλλοι Κροῖσος διασκεδᾶν τὸν στρατὸν, βουλευόμενος εὗρισκε πρήγμα οἱ εἶναι ἐλαύνειν ὡς δύναιτο τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις, πρὶν ἢ τὸ δεύτερον ἀλυσθῆναι τῶν Λυδῶν τὴν δύναμιν. ὡς δὲ οἱ ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίησε κατὰ τάχος. ἐλάσας γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Λυδίην, αὐτὸς ἄγγελος Κροίσῳ ἐληλύθει. ἐνθαῦτα Κροῖσος ἐς ἀπορίην πολλὴν ἀπιγμένος, ὥς οἱ παρὰ δόξαν ἔσχε τὰ πρήγματα ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε, ὅμως τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐξήγε ἐς μάχην. ἦν δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ οὔτε ἀνδρείοτερον, οὔτε ἀλκιμώτερον τοῦ Λυδίου. ἢ δὲ μάχη σφέων ἦν ἀπ' ἵππων, δούρατά τε ἐφόρεον μεγάλα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἱππεύεσθαι ἀγαθοί. Ἐς τὸ 80 πεδίον δὲ συνελθόντων τοῦτο τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος ἐστὶ τοῦ Σαρδιηνοῦ, ἐὼν μέγα τε καὶ ψιλόν, (διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ποταμοὶ ῥέοντες καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Ὑλλος συρρηγνύσι ἐς τὸν μέγιστον, καλεόμενον δὲ Ἑρμον, ὃς ἐξ οὐρεος ἱοῦ Μητρὸς Δινδυμήνης ῥέων, ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν κατὰ Φωκαίην πόλιν,) ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ὡς εἶδε τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐς μάχην τασσομένους, καταρρωδήσας τὴν ἵππον, ἐποίησε, Ἄρπαγος ὑποθεμένου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου, τοιόνδε. ὅσαι τῷ στρατῷ τῷ ἐωυτοῦ ἔποντο σιτοφόροι τε καὶ σκευοφόροι κάμηλοι, ταύτας πάσας ἀλίσας, καὶ ἀπελὼν τὰ ἄχθεια, ἀνδρας ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀνέβησε ἱππάδα στολὴν ἐνεσταλμένους. σκευάσας δὲ αὐτοὺς, προσέταξε τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς προῖεναι πρὸς τὴν Κροῖσου ἵππον, τῇ δὲ καμῇλω ἔπεσθαι τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐκέλευε· ὅπισθε δὲ

τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐπέταξε τὴν πᾶσαν ἵππον. ὥς δέ οἱ πάντες διετετάχατο, παραίνεσε τῶν μὲν ἄλλων Λυδῶν μὴ φειδόμενους, κτείνειν πάντα τὸν ἐμποδὼν γινόμενον, Κροῖσον δὲ αὐτὸν μὴ κτείνειν, μηδὲ ἦν συλλαμβανόμενος ἀμύνηται. ταῦτα μὲν παραίνεσε. τὰς δὲ καμήλους ἔταξε ἀντία τῆς ἵππου, τᾶνδε εἵνεκεν καμήλου ἵππος φοβέεται, καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται οὔτε τὴν ιδέην αὐτῆς ὀρέων, οὔτε τὴν ὁδμὴν ὀσφραινόμενος. αὐτοῦ δὲ ὦν τούτου εἵνεκεν ἐσεσφιστο, ἵνα τῷ Κροίσῳ ἄχρηστον ᾖ τὸ ἵππικόν, τῷ δὲ τι καὶ ἐπείχε ἐλλάμψεσθαι ὁ Λυδός. ὥς δὲ καὶ συνήεσαν ἐς τὴν μάχην, ἐνθαῦτα ὥς ὀσφραντο τάχιστα τῶν καμήλων οἱ ἵπποι, καὶ εἶδον αὐτὰς, ὀπίσω ἀνέστρεφον, διέφθαρτό τε τῷ Κροίσῳ ἡ ἐλπίς. οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Λυδοὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δειλοὶ ἦσαν ἄλλ', ὥς ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον, ἀποθορόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, πέζοι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι συνέβαλλον. χρόνῳ δὲ, πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν, ἐτράποντο οἱ Λυδοί. κατειληθέντες δὲ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἐπολιορκέοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων.

- 81 Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ κατεστήκεε πολιορκίη. Κροῖσος δὲ δοκέων οἱ χρόνον ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἔσεσθαι τὴν πολιορκίην, ἔπεμπε ἐκ τοῦ τεύχεος ἄλλους ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς συμμαχίας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον διεπέμποντο, ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα προερέοντες συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδις· τούτους δὲ ἐξέπεμπε τὴν ταχίστην δέεσθαι βοηθεῖν, ὥς πολιορ-
- 82 κεομένου Κροῖσου. Ἔς τε δὴ ὦν τὰς ἄλλας ἔπεμπε συμμαχίας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. τοῖσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι κατ' αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον συνεπεπτώκεε ἕρις εἰσοῦσα πρὸς Ἀργεῖους, περὶ χώρου καλεομένου Θυρέης. τὰς γὰρ Θυρέας ταύτας, εἰούσας τῆς Ἀργολίδος μοίρης, ἀποταμόμενοι ἔσχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ μέχρι Μαλεῶν ἡ πρὸς ἐσπέρην Ἀργεῖων, ἡ τε ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ χώρῃ, καὶ ἡ Κυθηρίῃ νῆσος, καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν νήσων. βοηθησάντων δὲ Ἀργεῖων τῇ σφετέρῃ ἀποταμνομένῃ, ἐνθαῦτα συνέβησαν ἐς λόγους συνελθόντες, ὥς τε τριηκοσίους ἑκατέρων μαχέσασθαι ὁκότεροι δ' αὖ περιγέωννται, τούτων εἶναι τὸν χώρον τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἑκάτερον ἐς τὴν ἐωυτοῦ, μηδὲ παραμένειν ἀγωνιζομένων,

τῶνδε εἶνεκεν, ἵνα μὴ παρέοντων τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὁρῶν-
 τες οἱ ἕτεροι ἐσσυμένους τοὺς σφετέρους, ἐπαμύνουσιν.
 Συνθέμενοι ὦν ταῦτα, ἀπαλλάσσοντο· λογάδες δὲ ἑκατέ-
 ρων ὑπολειφθέντες συνέβαλλον. μαχομένων δὲ σφῶν,
 καὶ γινομένων ἰσοπαλέων, ὑπελείποντο ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἑξα-
 κοσίων τρεῖς· Ἀργείων μὲν, Ἀλκίηωρ τε καὶ Χρόμιος·
 Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ, Ὀθρυάδης. ὑπελείφθησαν δὲ οὗτοι
 νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης. οἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν Ἀργείων, ὡς
 νενικηκότες, ἔθουν ἐς τὸ Ἄργος· ὁ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
 Ὀθρυάδης, σκυλεύσας τοὺς Ἀργείων νεκροὺς, καὶ προσ-
 φορήσας τὰ ὄπλα πρὸς τὸ ἐωυτοῦ στρατόπεδον, ἐν τῇ
 τάξει εἶχε ἐωυτόν. ἡμέρη δὲ δευτέρῃ παρήσαν πυνθανό-
 μενοι ἀμφότεροι. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἔφασαν
 νικᾶν· λέγοντες, οἱ μὲν, ὡς ἐωυτῶν πλεῖνες περιγεγόνασιν·
 οἱ δὲ, τοὺς μὲν ἀποφαίνοντες πεφευγότας, τὸν δὲ σφέτερον
 παραμείναντα, καὶ σκυλεύσαντα τοὺς ἐκείνων νεκρούς.
 τέλος δὲ, ἐκ τῆς ἔριδος συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο· πεσόντων
 δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν, ἐνίκων Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Ἀρ-
 γεῖοι μὲν νυν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου κατακεῖράμενοι
 τὰς κεφαλὰς, πρότερον ἐπάναγκες κομῶντες, ἐποίησαντο
 νόμον τε καὶ κατάρην, μὴ πρότερον θρέψειν κόμην Ἀρ-
 γείων μηδὲνα, μηδὲ τὰς γυναῖκάς σφι χρυσοφορήσειν,
 πρὶν ἂν Θυρέας ἀνασώσωνται. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὰ
 ἐναντία τούτων ἔθεντο νόμον, οὐ γὰρ κομῶντες πρὸ τού-
 του, ἀπὸ τούτου κομᾶν. τὸν δὲ ἕνα λέγουσι τὸν περι-
 λειφθέντα τῶν τριηκοσίων, Ὀθρυάδην, αἰσχυρόμενον ἀπο-
 νοστέειν ἐς Σπάρτην, τῶν οἱ συλλοχιτέων διεφθαρμένων,
 αὐτοῦ μιν ἐν τῇσι Θυρέησι καταχρησασθαι ἐωυτόν. Τοι- 83
 οὔτων δὲ τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι ἐνεστεώτων πρηγμάτων,
 ἦκε ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς κήρυξ, δεόμενος Κροίσῳ βοηθεῖν πολι-
 ορκεομένῳ. οἱ δὲ ὅμως, ἐπεὶ τε ἐπύθοντο τοῦ κήρυκος,
 ὁρμέατο βοηθεῖν. καὶ σφι ἤδη παρεσκευασμένοισι, καὶ
 νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐτοίμων, ἦλθε ἄλλη ἀγγελίη, ὡς ἡλώκοι
 τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Λυδῶν, καὶ ἔχοιτο Κροίσος ζωγρηθείς.
 οὕτω δὴ οὗτοι μὲν, συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι μεγάλην, ἐπέ-
 παντο.

Σάρδιες δὲ ἥλωσαν ὧδε. ἐπειδὴ τεσσσερεσκαιδεκάτῃ 84
 ἐγένετο ἡμέρῃ πολιορκεομένῳ Κροίσῳ, Κῦρος τῇ στρατιῇ

τῇ ἐωυτοῦ, διαπέμψας ἱππέας, προεῖπε, τῷ πρώτῳ ἐπιβάντι τοῦ τείχεος δῶρα δώσειν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, πειρησαμένης τῆς στρατιῆς, ὡς οὐ προεχώρει, ἐνθαῦτα τῶν ἄλλων πεπαυμένων, ἀνὴρ Μάρδος ἐπειράτο προσβαίνων, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ἑρριάδης, κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος τῇ οὐδεὶς ἐτέτακτο φύλακος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν δεινὸν, κατὰ τοῦτο μὴ ἀλφῶ κοτέ. ἀπότομός τε γάρ ἐστι ταύτῃ ἡ ἀκρόπολις, καὶ ἄμαχος· τῇ οὐδὲ Μήλης, ὁ πρότερον βασιλεὺς Σαρδίων, μούνη οὐ περιίηκει τὸν λέοντα, τὸν οἱ ἡ παλλακὴ ἔτεκε, Τελμησσέων δικασάντων, ὡς περιενειχθέντος τοῦ λέοντος τὸ τείχος, ἔσονται Σάρδιες ἀνάλωτοι. ὁ δὲ Μήλης κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο τείχος περιενείκας, τῇ ἦν ἐπίμαχον τὸ χωρίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, κατηλόγησε τούτου, ὡς ἐὼν ἄμαχόν τε καὶ ἀπότομον· ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Τμώλου τετραμμένον τῆς πόλιος. Ὁ ἂν δὴ Ἑρριάδης οὗτος ὁ Μάρδος, ἰδὼν τῇ προτεραίῃ τῶν τινα Λυδῶν κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος καταβάντα ἐπὶ κυνέην ἄνωθεν κατακυλισθεῖσαν, καὶ ἀνελόμενον, ἐφράσθη καὶ ἐς θυμὸν ἐβάλετο. τότε δὲ δὴ ὁ αὐτὸς τε ἀναβεβήκει, καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοι Περσέων ἀνέβαινον. προσβάντων δὲ συχνῶν, οὕτω δὴ Σάρδιές τε ἠλώκεσαν, καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἄστυ ἐπορθέετο.

- 85 Κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ Κροῖσον τάδε ἐγένετο. ἦν οἱ παῖς, τοῦ καὶ πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιεικῆς, ἄφωνος δέ. ἐν τῇ ᾧν παρελθούσῃ εὖεστοι ὁ Κροῖσος τὸ πᾶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεποιήκει, ἄλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Δελφούς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπεπόμφει χρησομένους. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ εἶπε τάδε·

Λυδὲ γένος, πολλῶν βασιλεῦ, μέγα νήπιε Κροῖσε,
μὴ βούλευ πολέεκτον ἦν ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκοῦειν
παιδὸς φθεγγομένου. τὸ δέ σοι πολὺ λῶϊον ἀμφὶς
ἔμμεναι· αὐδήσει γὰρ ἐν ἡματι πρῶτον ἀνόλβῃ.

Ἀλικομένου δὲ τοῦ τείχεος, ἥϊε γὰρ τῶν τις Περσέων ἀλλογνώσας Κροῖσον ὡς ἀποκτενέων, Κροῖσος μὲν νυν ὀρέων ἐπιόντα, ὑπὸ τῆς παρεούσης συμφορῆς παρημελλέει, οὐδέ τι οἱ διέφερε πληγέντι ἀποθανέειν· ὁ δὲ παῖς οὗτος ὁ ἄφωνος, ὡς εἶδε ἐπιόντα τὸν Πέρσην, ὑπὸ

δέους τε καὶ κακοῦ ἔρρηξε φωνήν, εἶπε δέ· “Ὁνθρῳπε, “μὴ κτεῖνε Κροῖσον.” Οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐφθέγγετο· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἤδη ἐφώνεε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζῆς. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τὰς τε δὴ Σάρδις ἔσχον, καὶ 86 αὐτὸν Κροῖσον ἐζώγρησαν, ἄρξαντα ἕτα τεσσереσκαίδεκα, καὶ τεσσереσκαίδεκα ἡμέρας πολιορκηθέντα, κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριόν τε καταπαύσαντα τὴν ἑωυτοῦ μεγάλην ἀρχὴν λαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Πέρσαι ἤγαγον παρὰ Κῦρον. ὁ δὲ, συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, ἀνεβίβασε ἐπ’ αὐτὴν τὸν Κροῖσον τε ἐν πέδῃσι δεδεμένον, καὶ δις ἑπτὰ Λυδῶν παρ’ αὐτὸν παῖδας· ἐν νόῳ ἔχων εἶτε δὴ ἀκροθίνια ταῦτα καταγιεῖν θεῶν ὅτεφ’ δὴ, εἶτε καὶ εὐχὴν ἐπιτελέσαι θέλων· εἶτε καὶ πυθόμενος τὸν Κροῖσον εἶναι θεοσεβέα, τοῦδε εἵνεκεν ἀνεβίβασε ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν, βουλόμενος εἰδέναι εἴ τις μιν δαιμόνων ῥύσεται τοῦ μὴ ζῶντα κατακαυθῆναι. τὸν μὲν δὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα· τῷ δὲ Κροῖσῳ, ἐστεῶπι ἐπὶ τῆς πυρῆς, ἐσελθεῖν, καὶ περ ἐν κακῷ ἔοντι τοσοῦτῳ, τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος, ὥς οἱ εἴη σὺν θεῷ εἰρημένον, τὸ “Μηδένα “εἶναι τῶν ζώντων ὄλβιον.” ὥς δὲ ἄρα μιν προστῆναι τοῦτο, ἀνενεικάμενόν τε καὶ ἀναστενάξαντα ἐκ πολλῆς ἡσυχίης, ἐς τρεῖς ὀνομάσαι Σόλωνα. καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα, κελεύσαι τοὺς ἑρμηνέας ἐπείρεσθαι τὸν Κροῖσον, τίνα τοῦτον ἐπικαλέοιτο· καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας ἐπειρωτᾶν. Κροῖσον δὲ τέως μὲν σιγὴν ἔχειν ἐρωτεώμενον· μετὰ δὲ, ὥς ἠναγκάζετο, εἰπεῖν “Τὸν ἂν “ἐγὼ πᾶσι τυράννοισι προετίμησα μεγάλων χρημάτων “ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν.” Ὡς δὲ σφί’ ἄσσημα ἔφραξε, πάλιν ἐπειρώτεον τὰ λεγόμενα. λιπαρεόντων δὲ αὐτῶν, καὶ ὄχλον παρεχόντων, ἔλεγε δὴ, ὥς ἦλθε ἀρχὴν ὁ Σόλων, ἑὼν Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ θεησάμενος πάντα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ ὄλβον ἀποφλαυρίσειε· οἷα δὴ εἶπας, ὥστε αὐτῷ πάντα ἀποβεβήκοι τῇπερ ἐκεῖνος εἶπε, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐς ἑωυτὸν λέγων, ἢ ἐς ἅπαν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δοκούντας ὄλβιους εἶναι. Τὸν μὲν Κροῖσον ταῦτα ἀπηγέεσθαι· τῆς δὲ πυρῆς ἤδη ἀμμένης, καίεσθαι τὰ περισχάτα. καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα τῶν ἑρμηνέων τὰ εἶπε Κροῖσος, μεταγνόντα τε, καὶ ἐννώσαντα ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ἑὼν, ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον, γενόμενον ἑωυτοῦ

- εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐλάσσω, ζῶοντα πυρὶ διδοίη· πρὸς τε τούτοισι, δέισαντα τὴν τίσιν, καὶ ἐπιλεξάμενον ὥς οὐδὲν εἶη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι ἀσφαλῶς ἔχον, κελεύει σβεννύναι τὴν ταχίστην τὸ καιόμενον πῦρ, καὶ καταβιβάζειν Κροῖσόν τε καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Κροῖσον· καὶ τοὺς, πειρωμένους,
- 87 οὐ δύνασθαι ἔτι τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπικρατῆσαι. Ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται ὑπὸ Λυδῶν, Κροῖσον μαθόντα τὴν Κύρου μετάγνωσιν, ὥς ὥρα πάντα μὲν ἄνδρα σβεννύντα τὸ πῦρ, δυναμένους δὲ οὐκέτι καταλαβεῖν, ἐπιβῶσασθαι, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπικαλεόμενον, εἴ τι οἱ κεχαρισμένον ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐδωρήθη, παραστήναι, καὶ ῥύσασθαι μιν ἐκ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ. τὸν μὲν, δακρύνοντα ἐπικαλέεσθαι τὸν θεόν· ἐκ δὲ αἰθρίης τε καὶ νηνεμῆς συνδραμέειν ἐξαπίνης νέφεα, καὶ χειμῶνά τε καταρραγῆναι, καὶ ὑσαι ὕδατι λαβροτάτῳ, κατασβεσθῆναι τε τὴν πυρὴν. οὕτω δὴ μαθόντα τὸν Κύρον, ὥς εἶη ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ θεοφιλὴς καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, καταβιβάσαντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πυρῆς, εἶρεσθαι τάδε· “Κροῖσε, “τίς σε ἀνθρώπων ἀνέγνωσε, ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν ἐμὴν στρα-
“τευσάμενον, πολέμιον ἀντὶ φίλου ἐμοὶ καταστήναι;” Ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἔπραξα τῇ σῇ μὲν
“εὐδαιμονίῃ, τῇ ἐμευτοῦ δὲ κακοδαιμονίῃ, αἴτιος δὲ
“τούτων ἐγένετο ὁ Ἑλλήνων θεός, ἐπαείρας ἐμὲ στρα-
“τεῦεσθαι. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω ἀνόητός ἐστι, ὅς τις πό-
“λεμον πρὸ εἰρήνης αἰρέεται. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ, οἱ παῖδες
“τοὺς πατέρας θάπτουσι· ἐν δὲ τῷ, οἱ πατέρες τοὺς
“παῖδας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα δαίμοσίν κεν φίλον ἦν οὕτω γενέ-
“σθαι.”
- 88 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε. Κῦρος δὲ αὐτὸν λύσας κάτισέ τε ἐγγὺς ἐωυτοῦ, καὶ κάρτα ἐν πολλῇ προμηθίῃ εἶχε, ἀπεθάνουμαζέ τε ὀρέων καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ οἱ περὶ ἐκείνου ἔοντες πάντες. ὁ δὲ, συννοιή ἐχόμενος, ἥσυχος ἦν. μετὰ δὲ, ἐπιστραφεὶς τε καὶ ἰδόμενος τοὺς Πέρσας τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν ἄστνυ κεραΐζοντας, εἶπε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, κότερα
“λέγειν πρὸς σὲ τὰ νοέων τυγχάνω, ἢ σιγᾶν ἐν τῷ
“παρεόντι χρή;” Κῦρος δὲ μιν θαρσέοντα ἐκέλευε λέ-
γειν ὅ τι βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰρώτα, λέγων· “Οὗτος
“ὁ πολλὸς ὄμιλος τί ταῦτα σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἐργάζεται;” Ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “Πόλιν τε τὴν σὴν διαρπάζει, καὶ χρήματα

“τὰ σὰ διαφορέει.” Κροῖσος δὲ ἀμείβετο· “Οὔτε πόλιν
 “τὴν ἐμὴν, οὔτε χρήματα τὰ ἐμὰ διαρπάξει· οὐδὲν γὰρ
 “ἐμοὶ ἔτι τούτων μέτα. ἀλλὰ φέρουσί τε καὶ ἄγουσι
 “τὰ σά.” Κύρω δὲ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο τὰ Κροῖσος εἶπε· 89
 μεταστησάμενος δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, εἶρετο Κροῖσον ὅ τι
 οἱ ἐνορῶν ἐν τοῖσι ποιευμένοισι. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “Ἐπεὶ
 “τε με θεοὶ δῶκαν δοῦλόν σοι, δικαίῳ, εἴ τι ἐνορέω
 “πλέον, σημαίνειν σοι. Πέρσαι, φύσιν ἔοντες ὑβρισ-
 “ταί, εἰσὶ ἀχρήματοι. ἦν ὦν σὺ τούτους περιῖδης διαρ-
 “πάσαντας καὶ κατασχόντας χρήματα μεγάλα, τάδε
 “τοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίδοξα γενέσθαι· ὥς ἂν αὐτῶν πλείστα
 “κατάσχῃ, τούτον προσδέκεσθαι τοὶ ἐπαναστησόμενοι.
 “νῦν ὦν ποιήσον ὧδε, εἴ τοι ἀρέσκει τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω.
 “κάτισον τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπὶ πάσῃσι τῇσι πύλῃσι φυ-
 “λάκους, οὗ λεγόντων πρὸς τοὺς ἐκφέροντας τὰ χρήματα
 “ἀπαιρεόμενοι, ὥς σφεα ἀναγκαίως ἔχει δεκατευθῆναι
 “τῷ Διὶ. καὶ σὺ τε σφὶ οὐκ ἀπεχθήσῃαι βίῃ ἀπαιρεό-
 “μενος τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, συγγινόντες ποιέειν σε
 “δίκαια, ἐκόντες ποιήσουσι.” Ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ Κῦρος, 90
 ὑπερήδετο, ὥς οἱ ἐδόκεε εὖ ὑποτίθεσθαι. αἰνέσας δὲ
 πολλὰ, καὶ ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι δορυφόροις τὰ Κροῖσος
 ὑπεθήκατο ἐπιτελέειν, εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε· “Κροῖσε,
 “ἀναρτημένου σεῦ ἀνδρὸς βασιλέος χρηστὰ ἔργα καὶ
 “ἔπεα ποιέειν, αἰτέο δόσιν τὴν τινα βούλεαι τοὶ γενέσθαι
 “παραντικά.” Ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “ὦ δέσποτα, ἐάσας με χα-
 “ριεῖ μάλιστα τὸν θεὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὸν ἐτίμησα ἐγὼ
 “θεῶν μάλιστα, ἐπείρεσθαι, πέμψαντα τάσδε τὰς πέδας,
 “εἰ ἐξαπατᾷν τοὺς εὖ ποιούντας νόμος ἔστι οἱ.” Κῦρος δὲ
 εἶρετο ὅ τι οἱ τοῦτο ἐπηγορεύειν παραιτέοιτο. Κροῖσος
 δὲ οἱ ἐπανηλόγησε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ διάνοιαν, καὶ τῶν
 χρηστηρίων τὰς ὑποκρίσιας, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ἀναθήματα·
 καὶ ὥς ἐπαρθεὶς τῷ μαντήϊῳ, ἐστρατεύσατο ἐπὶ Πέρσας.
 λέγων δὲ ταῦτα, κατέβαινε αὐτὶς παραιτούμενος, ἐπείναι
 οἱ τῷ θεῷ τούτων ὀνειδίσαι. Κῦρος δὲ γελάσας εἶπε·
 “Καὶ τούτου τεύξεαι παρ’ ἐμεῦ, Κροῖσε, καὶ ἄλλου
 “παντὸς τοῦ ἂν ἐκάστοτε δέῃ.” Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσε
 ὁ Κροῖσος, πέμπων τῶν Λυδῶν ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἐνετέλλετο,
 τιθέντας τὰς πέδας ἐπὶ τοῦ νηοῦ τὸν οὐδὸν, εἰρωτᾶν εἰ

οὐ τι ἐπαισχύνεται τοῖσι μαντήίοισι ἐπάρας Κροῖσον
στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας, ὡς καταπαύσοντα τὴν Κύρου
δύναμιν, ἀπ' ἧς οἱ ἀκροθίνια τοιαῦτα γενέσθαι· δεικνύν-
τας τὰς πέδας. ταῦτά τε ἐπειρωτᾶν, καὶ εἰ ἀχαρίστοισι
91 νόμος εἶναι τοῖσι Ἑλληνικοῖσι θεοῖσι. Ἀπικομένοισι δὲ
τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, καὶ λέγουσι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα, τὴν Πυθίην
λέγεται εἰπεῖν τάδε· “Τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν ἀδύνατά
“ἐστὶ ἀποφυγέειν καὶ θεῶ. Κροῖσος δὲ πέμπτου γονέος
“ἀμαρτάδα ἐξέπλησε, ὃς ἑὼν δορυφόρος Ἡρακλειδέων,
“δολῶ γυναικῆν ἐπισπόμενος, ἐφόνευσε τὸν δεσπότηα,
“καὶ ἔσχε τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν οὐδὲν οἱ προσήκουσαν.
“προθυμομένου δὲ Λοξίῳ, ὅπως ἂν κατὰ τοὺς παῖδας
“τοὺς Κροῖσου γένοιτο τὸ Σαρδίων πάθος, καὶ μὴ κατ'
“αὐτὸν Κροῖσον, οὐκ οἷός τε ἐγένετο παραγαγεῖν μοίρας.
“ὅσον δὲ ἐνέδωκαν αὐται, ἡνύσατο, καὶ ἐχαρίσατό οἱ.
“τρία γὰρ ἔτεα ἐπανεβάλετο τὴν Σαρδίων ἄλωσιν· καὶ
“τοῦτο ἐπιστάσθω Κροῖσος, ὥς ὕστερον τοῖσι ἔτεσι
“τούτοισι ἀλούς τῆς πεπρωμένης. δευτέρα δὲ τούτων,
“καιομένῳ αὐτῷ ἐπήρκεσε. Κατὰ δὲ τὸ μαντήϊον τὸ
“γενόμενον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς Κροῖσος μέμφεται. προηγόρευε
“γὰρ οἱ Λοξίης, ἣν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην
“ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν καταλύσειν. τὸν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα χρεὶν, εὖ
“μέλλοντα βουλευέσθαι, ἐπείρεσθαι πέμψαντα, κότερα
“τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἢ τὴν Κύρου λέγοι ἀρχήν. οὐ συλλαβὼν
“δὲ τὸ ῥηθὲν, οὐδ' ἐπανειρόμενος, ἑωυτὸν αἴτιον ἀπο-
“φαινέτω. ὧ καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον χρηστηριαζομένῳ εἶπε
“τὰ εἶπε Λοξίης περὶ ἡμίονου, οὐδὲ τοῦτο συνέλαβε. ἦν
“γὰρ δὴ ὁ Κύρος οὗτος ἡμίονος· ἐκ γὰρ δυοῖν οὐκ ὁμο-
“εθνέων ἐγενόνη, μητρὸς ἀμείνωνος, πατρὸς δὲ ὑποδε-
“εστέρου. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἦν Μηδὶς, καὶ Ἀστυάγεος θυγάτηρ
“τοῦ Μήδων βασιλέως· ὁ δὲ, Πέρσης τε ἦν, καὶ ἀρχο-
“μενος ὑπ' ἐκείνοισι· καὶ ἔνερθε ἑὼν τοῖσι ἅπασι, δε-
“σποῖνῃ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ συνοίκεε.” Ταῦτα μὲν ἡ Πυθίη
ὑπεκρίνατο τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι· οἱ δὲ ἀνῆνικαν ἐς Σάρδις,
καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ Κροίσῳ. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας, συνέγνω
ἑωυτοῦ εἶναι τὴν ἀμαρτάδα, καὶ οὐ τοῦ θεοῦ. Κατὰ
μὲν δὴ τὴν Κροῖσου τε ἀρχήν, καὶ Ἰωνίης τὴν πρώτην
καταστροφὴν, ἔσχε οὕτω.

Κροίσω δὲ ἔστι καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι 92
πολλά, καὶ οὐ τὰ εἰρημένα μόννα. ἐν μὲν γὰρ Θήβησι
τῇσι Βοιωτῶν τρίπους χρύσεος, τὸν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλ-
λωνι τῷ Ἰσμνίῳ· ἐν δὲ Ἐφέσῳ, αἶ τε βόες αἱ χρύσειαι,
καὶ τῶν κίωνων αἱ πολλαί· ἐν δὲ Προνηΐης τῇς ἐν Δελ-
φοῖσι, ἀσπίς χρυσή μεγάλη. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ
ἦν περιέοντα. τὰ δ' ἐξαπόλωλε τῶν ἀναθημάτων. τὰ
δ' ἐν Βραγχίδησι τῇσι Μιλησίων ἀναθήματα Κροίσω,
ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἴσα τε σταθμὸν καὶ ὁμοῖα τοῖσι ἐν
Δελφοῖσι. τὰ μὲν νυν ἔς τε Δελφούς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἀμ-
φιάρεω ἀνέθηκε, οἰκίᾳ τε ἔοντα, καὶ τῶν πατρώων χρη-
μάτων ἀπαρχήν· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ἐγέ-
νετο οὐσίης ἐχθροῦ, ὅς οἱ, πρὶν ἢ βασιλεῦσαι, ἀντι-
στασιώτης κατεστήκεε, συσπεύδων Πανταλέοντι γενέ-
σθαι τὴν Λυδῶν ἀρχήν. ὁ δὲ Πανταλέων ἦν Ἀλυάττεω
μὲν παῖς, Κροίσου δὲ ἀδελφεὸς οὐκ ὁμομήτριος. Κροῖσος
μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Καείρης ἦν γυναικὸς Ἀλυάττη· Πανταλέων
δὲ, ἐξ Ἰάδος. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ, δόντος τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐκράτησε
τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸν ἀνθρώπου τὸν ἀντιπρήσσοντα
ἐπὶ κνάφου ἔλκων διέφθειρε· τὴν δὲ οὐσίην αὐτοῦ ἔτι
πρότερον κατιρώσας, τότε τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀνέθηκε
ἐς τὰ εἶρηται. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἀναθημάτων τοσαῦτα εἰ-
ρήσθω.

Θώματα δὲ γῇ Λυδίῃ ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μάλα ἔχει, 93
οἷά τε καὶ ἄλλη χώρα, παρέξ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλου κατα-
φερομένου ψήγματος. Ἐν δὲ ἔργον πολλὸν μέγιστον
παρέχεται, χωρὶς τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν
Βαβυλωνίων. ἔστι αὐτόθι Ἀλυάττεω τοῦ Κροίσου πα-
τρὸς σῆμα, τοῦ ἡ κρηπὶς μὲν ἐστὶ λίθων μεγάλων, τὸ δὲ
ἄλλο σῆμα, χῶμα γῆς. ἐξεργάσαντο δὲ μιν οἱ ἀγοραῖοι
ἄνθρωποι, καὶ οἱ χειρώνακτες, καὶ αἱ ἐνεργαζόμεναι παι-
δίσκαι. οὔροι δὲ, πέντε ἔοντες, ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ
τοῦ σήματος ἄνω· καὶ σφί γραμματα ἐνεκεκόλαπτο, τὰ
ἕκαστοι ἐξεργάσαντο. καὶ ἐφαίνετο μετρεόμενον τὸ τῶν
παιδισκῶν ἔργον ἐὼν μέγιστον. Τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Λυδῶν
δήμου αἱ θυγατέρες πορνεύονται πᾶσαι, συλλέγουσαι
σφίσι φερνάς, ἐς ὃ ἂν συνοικήσωσι τοῦτο ποιέουσai.
ἐκδιδόασι δὲ αὐταὶ ἐωυτάς. ἡ μὲν δὴ περίοδος τοῦ σῆ-

ματος, εἰςὶ στάδιοι ἕξ, καὶ δύο πλέθρα· τὸ δὲ εὐρὸς ἐστὶ πλέθρα τριακαίδεκα. λίμνη δὲ ἔχεται τοῦ σήματος μεγάλη, τὴν λέγουσι Λυδοὶ ἀείναον εἶναι. καλέεται δὲ αὕτη Γυγαίη. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτό ἐστι.

- 94 Λυδοὶ δὲ νόμοισι μὲν παραπλησίοισι χρέωνται καὶ Ἕλληνες· χωρὶς ἣ ὅτι τὰ θήλεα τέκνα καταπορνεύουσι. πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, νόμισμα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου κοφάμενοι ἐχρήσαντο· πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ κάπηλοι ἐγένοντο. Φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Λυδοί, καὶ τὰς παιγνίας τὰς νῦν σφίσι τε καὶ Ἕλλησι κατεστεώσας, ἐωυτῶν ἐξεύρημα γενέσθαι. ἅμα δὲ ταύτας τε ἐξευρεθῆναι παρὰ σφίσι λέγουσι, καὶ Τυρσηνὴν ἀποικίσαι· ὧδε περὶ αὐτῶν λέγοντες. ἐπὶ Ἄττος τοῦ Μάνεω βασιλέος σιτοδητὴν ἰσχυρὴν ἀνὰ τὴν Λυδίην πᾶσαν γενέσθαι· καὶ τοὺς Λυδοὺς τέως μὲν διάγειν λιπαρέοντας· μετὰ δὲ, ὡς οὐ παύεσθαι, ἅκεα δίξῃσθαι· ἄλλον δὲ ἄλλο ἐπιμηχανᾶσθαι αὐτῶν. ἐξευρεθῆναι δὴ ὧν τότε καὶ τῶν κύβων καὶ τῶν ἀστραγάλων, καὶ τῆς σφαίρης, καὶ τῶν ἀλλέων πασέων παιγνιέων τὰ εἶδεα, πλὴν πεσσῶν. τούτων γὰρ ὧν τὴν ἐξεύρεσιν οὐκ οἰκηῖονται Λυδοί. ποιέειν δὲ ὧδε, πρὸς τὸν λιμὸν ἐξευρόντας· τὴν μὲν ἐτέρην τῶν ἡμερέων παίζειν πᾶσαν, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ζητέοιεν σιτία· τὴν δὲ ἐτέρην σιτέεσθαι, παυομένους τῶν παιγνιέων. τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ διάγειν ἐπ' ἕτεα· δυὼν δέοντα εἴκοσι. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ οὐκ ἀνιέναι τὸ κακὸν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι βιάζεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν, δύο μοίρας διελόντα Λυδῶν πάντων, κληρῶσαι, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ μονῇ, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ ἐκ τῆς χώρας. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ μένειν αὐτοῦ λαγχανοῦση τῶν μοιρέων ἐωυτὸν τὸν βασιλέα προστασσειν· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἀπαλλασσομένη, τὸν ἐωυτοῦ παῖδα, τῷ ὀνόματι εἶναι Τυρσηνόν. λαχόντας δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐτέρους ἐξιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας, καταβῆναι ἐς Σμύρνην, καὶ μηχανήσασθαι πλοία, ἐς τὰ ἐσθεμένους τὰ πάντα ὅσα σφί ἦν χρηστὰ ἐπίπλοα, ἀποπλέειν κατὰ βίου τε καὶ γῆς ζήτησιν· ἐς δ', ἔθνεα πολλὰ παραμειψαμένους, ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ὀμβρικοίς· ἔνθα σφέας ἐνιδρύσασθαι πόλιας, καὶ οἰκέειν τὸ μέχρι τοῦδε. ἀντὶ δὲ Λυδῶν μετονομασθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέος τοῦ παιδός, ὅς σφεας ἀνήγαγε· ἐπὶ

τούτου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιευμένους, ὀνομασθῆναι Τυρση-
γούς. Λυδοὶ μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι δεδούλωντο.

Ἐπιδίξεται δὲ δὴ τὸ ἐνθεύτεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος τὸν τε 95
Κῦρον, ὅστις ἑὼν τὴν Κροίσου ἀρχὴν κατέειλε· καὶ τοὺς
Πέρσας, ὅτεω τρόπῳ ἡγήσαντο τῆς Ἀσίης. Ὡς ὦν Περ-
σέων μετεξέτεροι λέγουσι, οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι σεμνοῦν τὰ
περὶ Κῦρον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἑόντα λέγειν λόγον, κατὰ ταῦτα
γράψω· ἐπιστάμενος περὶ Κῦρον καὶ τριφασίας ἄλλας
λόγων ὁδοὺς φῆναι. Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχόντων τῆς ἂνω Ἀσί-
ης ἐπ' ἕτεα εἴκοσι καὶ πεντακόσια, πρῶτοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν
Μῆδοι ἤρξαντο ἀπίστασθαι· καὶ κως οὗτοι περὶ τῆς
ἐλευθερίας μαχεσάμενοι τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι, ἐγένοντο ἄν-
δρες ἀγαθοί· καὶ ἀπώσάμενοι τὴν δουλοσύνην, ἡλευθερώ-
θησαν. μετὰ δὲ τούτους, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνεα ἐποίηε τῶ-
ν τῶν τοῖσι Μῆδοισι. Ἐόντων δὲ αὐτονόμων πάντων ἀνὰ
τὴν ἡπειρον ὧδε αὐτὶς ἐς τυραννίδας περιῆλθον. Ἀνὴρ 96
ἐν τοῖσι Μῆδοισι ἐγένετο σοφὸς, τῷ οὐνόμα ἦν Δηϊόκης,
παῖς δὲ ἦν Φραόρτεω. οὗτος ὁ Δηϊόκης, ἐρασθεὶς τυραν-
νίδος, ἐποίηε τοιάδε. Κατοικημένων τῶν Μῆδων κατὰ
κώμας, ἐν τῇ ἑωυτοῦ ἑὼν καὶ πρότερον δόκιμος, καὶ μάλ-
λόν τι καὶ προθυμότερον δικαιοσύνην ἐπιθέμενος ἤσκει·
καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι, εὐούσης ἀνομίης πολλῆς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν
Μηδικὴν, ἐποίηε, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι τῷ δικαίῳ τὸ ἄδικον
πολέμιόν ἐστι. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης Μῆδοι, ὁρῶντες
αὐτοῦ τοὺς τρόπους, δικαστὴν μιν ἑωυτῶν αἰρέοντο. ὁ
δὲ δὴ, οἷα μνεώμενος ἀρχὴν, ἰθύς τε καὶ δίκαιος ἦν.
ποιέων τε ταῦτα, ἐπαινον εἶχε οὐκ ὀλίγον πρὸς τῶν πολι-
τέων, οὕτω ὥστε πυνθανόμενοι οἱ ἐν τῇσι ἄλλῃσι κώμησι
ὡς Δηϊόκης εἶη ἀνὴρ μόνος κατὰ τὸ ὀρθὸν δικάζων,
πρότερον περιπίπτοντες ἀδίκοισι γνώμησι, τότε ἐπεὶ τε
ἤκουσαν, ἄσμενοι ἐφοίτεον παρὰ τὸν Δηϊόκεα καὶ αὐτοὶ
δικασόμενοι· τέλος δὲ, οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἐπετράποντο. Πλεῦ- 97
νος δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένου τοῦ ἐπιφοιτέοντος, οἷα πυνθανομέ-
νων τὰς δίκας ἀποβαίνειν κατὰ τὸ ἐόν, γνοὺς ὁ Δηϊόκης
ἐς ἑωυτὸν πᾶν ἀνακείμενον, οὔτε κατίζειν ἔτι ἤθελε ἔνθα
περ πρότερον προκατίζειν ἐδίκασε, οὐτ' ἔφη δικαῖν ἔτι.
οὐ γάρ οἱ λυσιτελέειν, τῶν ἑωυτοῦ ἐξημεληκότα, τοῖσι
πέλας δι' ἡμέρης δικάζειν. εὐούσης ὦν ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀνο-

μῆς ἔτι πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀνὰ τὰς κόμας ἢ πρότερον ἦν, συνελέχθησαν οἱ Μῆδοι ἐς τῷντὸ, καὶ ἐδίδοσαν σφίσι λόγον, λέγοντες περὶ τῶν κατηκόντων. ὥς δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω, μάλιστα ἔλεγον οἱ τοῦ Δηϊόκεω φίλοι. “Οὐ γὰρ δὴ, “τρώπῳ τῷ παρεόντι χρεώμενοι, δυνατοὶ εἶμεν οἰκέειν “τὴν χώραν” φέρε, στήσωμεν ἡμέων αὐτῶν βασιλέα. “καὶ οὕτω ἢ τε χώρα εὐνομήσεται, καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἔργα “τρεψόμεθα, οὐδὲ ὑπ’ ἀνομίας ἀνάστατοι ἐσόμεθα.” Ταῦτά κη λέγοντες, πείθουσι ἑωυτοὺς βασιλεύεσθαι.

- 98 Αὐτίκα δὲ προβαλλομένων τὸν τινα στήσονται βασιλέα, ὁ Δηϊόκης ἦν πολλὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ προβαλλόμενος καὶ αἰνεόμενος· ἐς ὃ τοῦτον καταινέουσι βασιλέα σφίσι εἶναι. Ὁ δ' ἐκέλευε αὐτοὺς οἰκία τε ἑωυτῷ ἄξια τῆς βασιληΐης οἰκοδομῆσαι, καὶ κρατῦναι αὐτὸν δορυφόροις. ποιέουσι δὴ ταῦτα οἱ Μῆδοι. οἰκοδομέουσιν τε γὰρ αὐτῷ οἰκία μεγάλα τε καὶ ἰσχυρά, ἵνα αὐτὸς ἔφρασε τῆς χώρας· καὶ δορυφόρους αὐτῷ ἐπιτρέπουσι ἐκ πάντων Μήδων καταλέξασθαι. Ὁ δὲ, ὥς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν, τοὺς Μήδους ἠνάγκασε ἐν πόλισμα ποιήσασθαι, καὶ τοῦτο περιστέλλοντας, τῶν ἄλλων ἦσσαν ἐπιμέλεσθαι. πειθομένων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Μήδων, οἰκοδομεῖ τείχεα μεγάλα τε καὶ καρτερὰ, ταῦτα τὰ νῦν Ἀγβάτανα κέκληται, ἕτερον ἐτέρῳ κύκλῳ ἐνεστεῶτα. μεμηχάνηται δὲ οὕτω τοῦτο τὸ τεῖχος, ὥστε ὁ ἕτερος τοῦ ἐτέρου κύκλος τοῖσι προμαχεῶσι μύνουσί ἐστι ὑψηλότερος. τὸ μὲν κου τι καὶ τὸ χωρίον συμμαχέει, κολωνὸς ἐὼν, ὥστε τοιοῦτο εἶναι, τὸ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἐπετηδεύθη, κύκλων ἐόντων τῶν συναπάντων ἑπτὰ· ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ τὰ βασιληΐα ἐνεστι καὶ οἱ θησαυροί. τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν μέγιστόν ἐστι τεῖχος κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηνέων κύκλον μάλιστα κη τὸ μέγαθος. τοῦ μὲν δὴ πρώτου κύκλου οἱ προμαχεῶνές εἰσι λευκοί· τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου, μέλανες· τρίτου δὲ κύκλου, φοινίκεοι· τετάρτου δὲ, κυάνεοι· πέμπτου δὲ, σανδαράκινοι. οὕτω πάντων τῶν κύκλων οἱ προμαχεῶνες ἡνθισμένοι εἰσὶ φαρμάκοισι. δύο δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι, εἰσὶ ὁ μὲν καταργυρωμένους, ὁ δὲ κατακεχρυσωμένους ἔχων τοὺς προμαχεῶνας.

- 99 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὁ Δηϊόκης ἑωυτῷ τε ἐτείχεε, καὶ περὶ

τὰ ἐωυτοῦ οἰκία· τὸν δὲ ἄλλον δῆμον περίξ ἐκέλευε τὸ τεῖχος οἰκέειν. οἰκοδομηθέντων δὲ πάντων, κόσμον τόνδε Δηϊόκης πρῶτός ἐστι ὁ καταστησάμενος· μήτε ἐσιέναι παρὰ βασιλέα μηδένα, δι' ἀγγέλων δὲ πάντα χρέεσθαι, ὁράσθαι τε βασιλέα ὑπὸ μηδενός· πρὸς τε τούτοισι ἔτι, γελᾶν τε καὶ πτύειν ἀντίον καὶ ἅπασιν εἶναι τοῦτό γε αἰσχρόν. Ταῦτα δὲ περὶ ἐωυτὸν ἐσέμνυνε τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅπως ἂν μὴ ὁρῶντες οἱ ὁμήλικες, ἐόντες σύντροφοί τε ἐκείνῳ, καὶ οἰκίῃς οὐ φλαυροτέρῃς, οὐδὲ ἐς ἀνδραγαθίην λειπόμενοι, λυπεοῖατο καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοιεν, ἀλλ' ἑτεροῖός σφι δοκεοί εἶναι μὴ ὁρῶσι. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ταῦτα διεκό- 100 σμῃσε, καὶ ἐκράτυνε ἐωυτὸν τῇ τυραννίδι, ἣν τὸ δίκαιον φυλάσσων χαλεπός. καὶ τὰς τε δίκας γράφοντες, εἴσω παρ' ἐκείνῳ ἐσεπέμπεσκον καὶ ἐκείνος διακρίνων τὰς ἐσφερομένας, ἐκπέμπεσκε. ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τὰς δίκας ἐποίησε· τὰ δὲ δὴ ἄλλα ἐκεκοσμέατό οἱ. εἴ τινα πυνθά- νοιτο ὑβρίζοντα, τοῦτον ὅπως μεταπέμψαιτο, κατ' ἀξίην ἐκάστου ἀδικήματος ἐδικαίεν· καὶ οἱ κατάσκοποί τε καὶ κατήκοοι ἦσαν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν τῆς ἡρχε.

Δηϊόκης μὲν νυν τὸ Μηδικὸν ἔθνος συνέστρεψε μοῦ- 101 νον, καὶ τούτου ἡρξε. ἔστι δὲ Μήδων τοςάδε γένεα, Βουσαι, Παρητακηνοὶ, Στρούχατες, Ἀριζαντοὶ, Βούδιοι, Μάγοι. γένεα μὲν δὴ Μήδων ἐστὶ τοςάδε. Δηϊόκεω 102 δὲ παῖς γίνεται Φραόρτης, ὃς, τελευτήσαντος Δηϊόκεω, βασιλεύσαντος τρία καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, παρεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχήν. παραδεξάμενος δὲ, οὐκ ἀπεχράτο μόνων ἄρχειν τῶν Μήδων· ἀλλὰ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρ- σας, πρώτοισί τε τούτοισι ἐπεθήκατο, καὶ πρώτους Μή- δων ὑπηκόους ἐποίησε. μετὰ δὲ, ἔχων δύο ταῦτα ἔθνεα, καὶ ἀμφοτέρωτα ἰσχυρὰ, κατεστρέφετο τὴν Ἀσίην, ἀπ' ἄλλου ἐπ' ἄλλο ἰὼν ἔθνος. ἐς ὃ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, καὶ Ἀσσυρίων τούτους οὐ Νῖνον εἶχον, καὶ ἡρχον πρότερον πάντων, τότε δὲ ἦσαν μεμουνωμένοι μὲν συμμάχων, ἅτε ἀπεστεώτων, ἄλλως μέντοι ἐωυτῶν εὖ ἥκοντες· ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ στρατευσάμενος ὁ Φραόρτης, αὐτὸς τε διεφθάρη, ἄρξας δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πολλός.

Φραόρτεω δὲ τελευτήσαντος, ἐξεδέξατο Κυαξάρης ὁ 103

Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηϊόκεω παῖς. οὗτος λέγεται πολλὸν ἔτι γενέσθαι ἀλκιμώτερος τῶν προγόνων· καὶ πρῶτός τε ἐλόχισε κατὰ τέλεα τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, καὶ πρῶτος διέταξε χωρὶς ἐκάστους εἶναι, τοὺς τε αἰχμοφόρους, καὶ τοὺς τοξοφόρους, καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας· πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἀναμίξῃ ἦν πάντα ὁμοίως ἀναπεφυρμένα. Οὗτος ὁ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἐστὶ μαχεσάμενος, ὅτε νύξ ἡ ἡμέρῃ ἐγένετό σφι μαχομένοι· καὶ ὁ τὴν Ἄλλος ποταμοῦ ἄνω Ἀσίην πᾶσαν συστήσας ἑωυτῷ. Συλλέξας δὲ τοὺς ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ ἀρχομένους πάντας, ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Νῖνον, τιμωρέων τε τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην θέλων ἐξελεῖν. καὶ οἱ, ὡς συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησε τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, περικατημένῳ τὴν Νῖνον, ἐπῆλθε Σκυθέων στρατὸς μέγας· ἄγε δὲ αὐτοὺς βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων Μαδύης, Πρωτοθύεω παῖς· οἱ ἐσέβαλον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, Κιμμερίους ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, τούτοις δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι φεύγουσι, οὕτω

104 ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώραν ἀπίκοντο. Ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαϊήτιδος ἐπὶ Φᾶσιιν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐς Κόλχους τριήκοντα ἡμερέων εὐζώνῳ ὁδός. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ πολλὸν ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ διὰ μέσου ἔθνος αὐτῶν ἐστὶ, Σάσπειρες· τοῦτο δὲ παραμειβομένοισι, εἶναι ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ. οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Σκύθαι ταύτῃ ἐσέβαλον, ἀλλὰ τὴν κατίπερθε ὁδὸν πολλῷ μακροτέρῃν ἐκτραπόμενοι, ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχοντες τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν Μῆδοι συμβαλόντες τοῖσι Σκύθησι, καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ, τῆς ἀρχῆς κατελύθησαν

105 οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν ἐπέσχον. Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἦϊσαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον· καὶ ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ Ψαμμίτιχός σφεας Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἀντιάσας δῶροισί τε καὶ λιτῇσι ἀποτρέπει τὸ προσωτέρω μὴ πορεύεσθαι. οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε ἀναχωρέοντες ὀπίσω, ἐγένοντο τῆς Συρίας ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι πόλει, τῶν πλεόνων Σκυθέων παρεξελθόντων ἀσινέων, ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθέντες, ἐσύλησαν τῆς Οὐρανίης Ἀφροδίτης τὸ ἱρόν. ἐστὶ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρόν, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθανόμενος εὐρίσκω, πάντων ἀρχαιότατον ἱρῶν ὅσα ταύτης τῆς θεοῦ. καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἱρόν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένετο, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Κύπριον· καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυθήροισι Φοῖνικὲς εἰσι οἱ

ἰδρυσάμενοι, ἐκ ταύτης τῆς Συρίας ἔοντες. τοῖσι δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων συλήσασι τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Ἀσκάλῳ, καὶ τοῖσι τούτων αἰεὶ ἐκγόνοισι, ἐνέσκηψε ἡ θεὸς θήλειαν νοῦσον ὥστε ἅμα λέγουσί τε οἱ Σκύθαι διὰ τοῦτό σφεας νοσέειν, καὶ ὁρᾶν παρ' ἐωυτοῖσι τοὺς ἀπικνεομένους ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν χώραν ὡς διακέαται, τοὺς καλέουσι Ἐναρέας οἱ Σκύθαι. Ἐπὶ μὲν νυν ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτα ἦρχον τῆς 106 Ἀσίης οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ τὰ πάντα σφι ὑπὸ τε ὕβριος καὶ ὀλιγωρίας ἀνάστατα ἦν. χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ φόρων, ἔπρησσαν παρ' ἐκάστων τὸ ἐκάστοισι ἐπέβαλλον· χωρὶς δὲ τοῦ φόρου, ἥρπαζον περιελαύνοντες τοῦτο ὃ τι ἔχοιεν ἕκαστοι. καὶ τούτων μὲν τοὺς πλεῖνας Κναξάρης τε καὶ Μῆδοι ξεινίσαντες καὶ καταμεθύσαντες κατεφόνευσαν. καὶ οὕτω ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Μῆδοι, καὶ ἐπεκράτεον τῶν περ καὶ πρότερον. καὶ τὴν τε Νῖνον εἶλον, (ὡς δὲ εἶλον, ἐν ἑτέροισι λόγοισι δηλώσω,) καὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ὑποχειρίους ἐποίησαντο, πλὴν τῆς Βαβυλωνίης μοίρης. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Κναξάρης μὲν, βασιλεύσας τεσσεράκοντα ἔτα, σὺν τοῖσι Σκύθαι ἦρξαν, τελευτᾷ.

Ἐκδέκεται δὲ Ἀστυάγης, ὁ Κναξάρει παῖς, τὴν 107 βασιληίην. καὶ οἱ ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ, τῇ οὖνομα ἔθετο Μανδάνην. τὴν ἐδόκεε Ἀστυάγης ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ οὐρῆσαι τοσοῦτον, ὥστε πληῖσαι μὲν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ πόλιν, ἐπικατακλύσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. ὑπερθέμενος δὲ τῶν μάγων τοῖσι ὀνειροπόλοισι τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ἐφοβήθη, παρ' αὐτῶν αὐτὰ ἕκαστα μαθών. μετὰ δὲ, τὴν Μανδάνην ταύτην, εἰσαν ἤδη ἀνδρὸς ὡραίην, Μήδων μὲν τῶν ἐωυτοῦ ἀξίων οὐδεὶν διδοῖ γυναῖκα, δεδοικὼς τὴν ὄψιν· ὁ δὲ Πέρσης διδοῖ, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Καμβύσης· τὸν εὗρισκε οἰκίης μὲν ἔοντα ἀγαθῆς, τρόπου δὲ ἡσυχίου· πολλῶ ἔνερθε ἄγων αὐτὸν μέσου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου. Συνοικεούσης 108 δὲ τῷ Καμβύσῃ τῆς Μανδάνης, ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει εἶδε ἄλλην ὄψιν. ἐδόκεε δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων τῆς θυγατρὸς ταύτης φῦναι ἄμπελον· τὴν δὲ ἄμπελον ἐπισχεῖν τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ ὑπερθέμενος τοῖσι ὀνειροπόλοισι, μετεπέμψατο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπίτεκα εἰσαν. ἀπικομένην δὲ ἐφύλασσε, βουλόμενος τὸ γεννώμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς διαφθεῖραι· ἐκ γάρ

- οἱ τῆς ὄψιος οἱ τῶν μάγων ὄνειροπόλοι ἐσήμαινον, ὅτι μέλλοι ὁ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γόνος βασιλεύσειν αὐτῇ ἐκείνου. Ταῦτα δὴ ὦν φυλασσόμενος ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ὡς ἐγένετο ὁ Κῦρος, καλέσας Ἄρπαγον, ἄνδρα οἰκίῳ, καὶ πιστότατόν τε Μῆδων, καὶ πάντων ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἑωυτοῦ, ἔλεγέ οἱ τοιαύδε· “Ἄρπαγε, πρῆγμα τὸ ἄν τοι προσ-
 “θέω, μηδαμῶς παραχρήσῃ μηδὲ ἐμέ τε παραβάλλῃ,
 “καὶ ἄλλους ἐλόμενος, ἐξ ὑστέρης σὺ ἑωυτῷ περιπέσης.
 “λάβε τὸν Μανδάνη ἔτεκε παῖδα· φέρων δὲ ἐς σεωυτοῦ,
 “ἀπόκτεινον· μετὰ δὲ, θάψον τρόπῳ ὅτεφ αὐτὸς βού-
 “λεαι.” Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε ἄλλοτέ
 “κω παρείδες ἀνδρὶ τῷδε ἄχαρι οὐδέν, φυλασσόμεθα δὲ
 “ἐς σέ καὶ ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτεῖν.
 “ἀλλ’ εἴ τοι φίλον τοῦτο οὕτω γίνεσθαι, χρή δὴ, τό γε
 109 “ἐμὸν, ὑπηρετέεσθαι ἐπιτηδέως.” Τούτοισι ἀμειψάμενος
 ὁ Ἄρπαγος, ὡς οἱ παρεδόθη τὸ παιδίον κεκοσμημένον
 τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἥϊε κλαίων ἐς τὰ οἰκία. παρελθὼν δὲ
 ἔφραζε τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὶ τὸν πάντα Ἀστυάγεος ῥηθέντα
 λόγον. ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγει· “Νῦν ὦν τί σοι ἐν νόῳ
 “ἐστὶ ποιέειν;” Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται· “Οὐκ ἦ ἐνετέλλετο
 “Ἀστυάγης· οὐδ’ εἰ παραφρονήσῃ τε καὶ μανείται κά-
 “κιον ἢ νῦν μαίνεται, οὐ οἱ ἔγωγε προσθήσομαι τῇ
 “γνώμῃ, οὐδὲ ἐς φόνον τοιοῦτον ὑπηρετήσω. πολλῶν
 “δὲ εἵνεκα οὐ φονεύσω μιν· καὶ ὅτι αὐτῷ μοι συγγενὴς
 “ἐστὶν ὁ παῖς, καὶ ὅτι Ἀστυάγης μὲν ἐστὶ γέρων, καὶ
 “ἄπαις ἔρσενος γόνου. εἰ δὲ θελήσει, τούτου τελευτή-
 “σαντος, ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην ἀναβῆναι ἢ τυραννίς,
 “ἥς νῦν τὸν υἱὸν κτείνει δι’ ἐμεῦ, ἄλλο τί ἢ λείπεται τὸ
 “ἐνθεύτεν ἐμοὶ κινδύνων ὁ μέγιστος; ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν
 “ἀσφαλέος εἵνεκα ἐμοὶ, δεῖ τοῦτον τελευτᾶν τὸν παῖδα·
 110 “δεῖ μέντοι τῶν τινὰ Ἀστυάγεος αὐτοῦ φονέα γενέσθαι,
 “καὶ μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν.” Ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ αὐτίκα ἄγγελον
 ἔπεμπε ἐπὶ τῶν βουκόλων τῶν Ἀστυάγεος τὸν ἡπίστατο
 νομάς τε ἐπιτηδεωτάτας νέμοντα, καὶ οὔρεα θηριωδέ-
 στατα· τῷ οὐνόμα ἦν Μιτραδάτης, συνοίκεε δὲ τῇ ἑω-
 τοῦ συνδούλῳ· οὐνόμα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ἦν τῇ συνοίκεε,
 Κυνώ, κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλώσσαν· κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μη-
 δικήν, Σπακώ· τὴν γὰρ κύνα καλέουσι σπάκα Μῆδοι.

αἱ δὲ ὑπώρεαί εἰσι τῶν οὐρέων ἔνθα τὰς νομὰς τῶν βοῶν εἶχε οὗτος δὴ ὁ βουκόλος, πρὸς βορέω τε ἀνέμου τῶν Ἀγβατάνων, καὶ πρὸς τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου. ταύτη μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μηδικὴ χώρα πρὸς Σασπείρων ὀρεινὴ ἐστὶ καρτα, καὶ ὑψηλὴ τε καὶ ἰδοῖσι συνηρεφής· ἡ δὲ ἄλλη Μηδικὴ χώρα ἐστὶ πᾶσα ἄπεδος. ἐπεὶ ὦν ὁ βουκόλος σπουδῇ πολλῇ καλεόμενος ἀπύκετο, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἀρπαγος τάδε· “Κελεύει σε Ἀστυάγης τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο λαβόντα, “θεῖναι ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον τῶν οὐρέων, ὅπως ἂν τάχιστα “διαφθαρείῃ. καὶ τάδε τοι ἐκέλευσε εἰπεῖν, ἣν μὴ ἀπο- “κτείνῃς αὐτὸ, ἀλλὰ τεφρὸν τρόπον περιποιήσῃ, ὀλέθρῳ τῷ “κακίστῳ σε διαχρήσεσθαι· ἐποράν δὲ ἐκκείμενον δια- “τέταγμαι ἐγώ.” Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βουκόλος, καὶ ἀνα- 111
λαβὼν τὸ παιδίον ἤϊε τὴν αὐτὴν ὀπίσω ὁδόν, καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὴν ἔπαυλιν. τῷ δ' ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνή, ἐπίτεξ ἐοῦσα πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, τότε κως κατὰ δαίμονα τίκτει, οἰχομένου τοῦ βουκόλου ἐς πόλιν. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν φροντίδι ἀμφοτέροι ἀλλήλων πέρι· ὁ μὲν, τοῦ τόκου τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρρωδέων· ἡ δὲ γυνή, ὅτι οὐκ ἐωθὼς ὁ Ἀρπαγος μεταπέμψαιτο αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνδρα. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἀπονοστήσας ἐπέστη, οἷα ἐξ ἀέλπτου ἰδοῦσα ἡ γυνή, εἶρετο προτέρη, ὅ τι μιν οὕτω προθύμως Ἀρπαγος μεταπέμψαιτο. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “ὦ γύναι, εἰδὼν τε ἐς πόλιν “ἐλθὼν καὶ ἤκουσα τὸ μῆτε ἰδεῖν ὄφελον, μῆτε κοτε “γενέσθαι ἐς δεσπότης τοὺς ἡμετέρους. οἶκος μὲν πᾶς “Ἀρπάγου κλαυθμῷ κατείχετο· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκπλαγεῖς, ἥϊα “ἔσω. ὥς δὲ τάχιστα ἐσῆλθον, ὁρέω παιδίον προκείμενον, ἀσπαίρόν τε καὶ κραυγανόμενον, κεκοσμημένον “χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ. Ἀρπαγος δὲ ὥς εἶδέ με, ἐκέλευε τὴν ταχίστην ἀναλαμβάνοντα τὸ παιδίον, οἷ- “χεσθαι φέροντα, καὶ θεῖναι ἔνθα θηριωδέστατον εἴη τῶν “οὐρέων· φᾶς Ἀστυάγεια εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενόν μοι, “πολλὰ ἀπειλήσας εἰ μὴ σφεα ποιήσαιμι. καὶ ἐγὼ “ἀναλαβὼν ἔφερον, δοκέων τῶν τινος οἰκετέων εἶναι· οὐ “γὰρ ἂν κοτε κατέδοξα ἔνθεν γε ἦν. ἐθάμβεον δὲ ὁρέων “χρυσῷ τε καὶ εἵμασι κεκοσμημένον· πρὸς δὲ, καὶ κλαυ- “θμόν κατεστεῶτα ἐμφανέα ἐν Ἀρπάγου. καὶ πρόκατε “δὴ κατ' ὁδὸν πυνθάνομαι τὸν πάντα λόγον θεράποντος,

- “ὅς ἐμὲ προπέμπων ἔξω πόλις, ἐνεχείρισε τὸ βρέφος·
 “ὡς ἄρα Μανδάνης τε εἶη παῖς τῆς Ἀστυάγῳ θυγατρὸς,
 “καὶ Καμβύσῳ τοῦ Κύρου, καὶ μιν Ἀστυάγῃς ἐντέλ-
 112 “λεται ἀποκτεῖναι· νῦν τε ὅδε ἐστί.” Ἀμα δὲ ταῦτα
 ἔλεγε ὁ βουκόλος, καὶ ἐκκαλύψας ἀπεδείκνυε. ἡ δὲ, ὡς
 εἶδε τὸ παιδίον μέγα τε καὶ εὐειδὲς ἔον, δακρύσασα, καὶ
 λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, ἔχρηξε μηδεμιᾷ
 τέχνῃ ἐκθεῖναι μιν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη οἷός τε εἶναι ἄλλως
 αὐτὰ ποιεῖν· ἐπιφοιτήσῃν γὰρ κατασκόπους ἐξ Ἀρ-
 πάγου ἐποψομένους· ἀπολέεσθαι τε κάκιστα, ἢν μὴ σφεα
 ποιήσῃ. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα, δεύτερα λέγει
 ἡ γυνὴ τάδε· “Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐ δύναμαί σε πείθειν μὴ
 “ἐκθεῖναι, σὺ δὲ ὧδε ποιήσῃς, εἰ δὴ πᾶσά γε ἀνάγκη
 “ὀφθῆναι ἐκκειμένον· τέτοκα γὰρ καὶ ἐγὼ, τέτοκα δὲ
 “τεθνεὸς· τοῦτο μὲν φέρων πρόθεσ, τὸν δὲ τῆς Ἀστυά-
 “γεος θυγατρὸς παῖδα ὡς ἐξ ἡμέων ἔοντα τρέφωμεν· καὶ
 “οὕτω οὔτε σὺ ἀλώσῃαι ἀδικέων τοὺς δεσπότας, οὔτε
 “ἡμῖν κακῶς βεβουλευμένα ἔσται. ὁ τε γὰρ τεθνεὺς
 “βασιλῆϊς ταφῆς κυρήσει, καὶ ὁ περιεὼν οὐκ ἀπολέει
 113 “τὴν ψυχὴν.” Κάρτα τε ἔδοξε τῷ βουκόλῳ πρὸς τὰ
 παρεόντα εὖ λέγειν ἢ γυνὴ, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐποίησε ταῦτα.
 τὸν μὲν ἔφερε θανατώσων παῖδα, τοῦτον μὲν παραδιδού-
 τῃ ἑωυτοῦ γυναικί· τὸν δὲ ἑωυτοῦ, ἔοντα νεκρὸν, λαβὼν
 ἔθηκε ἐς τὸ ἄγγος ἐν τῷ ἔφερε τὸν ἕτερον· κοσμήσας δὲ
 τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου παιδὸς, φέρων ἐς τὸ ἐρημό-
 τατον τῶν οὐρέων τιθεῖ. ὡς δὲ τρίτῃ ἡμέρῃ τῷ παιδίῳ
 ἐκκειμένῳ ἐγένετο, ἥϊε ἐς πόλιν ὁ βουκόλος, τῶν τινα
 προβόσκων φύλακον αὐτοῦ καταλιπών. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τοῦ
 Ἀρπάγου, ἀποδεικνύναι ἔφη ἐτοιμὸς εἶναι τοῦ παιδίου
 τὸν νέκυν. πέμψας δὲ ὁ Ἀρπαγὸς τῶν ἑωυτοῦ δορυφό-
 ρων τοὺς πιστοτάτους, εἶδὲ τε διὰ τούτων, καὶ ἔθαψε τοῦ
 βουκόλου τὸ παιδίον. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐτέθαπτο· τὸν δὲ ὕστερον
 τούτων Κύρον ὀνομασθέντα παραλαβοῦσα ἔτρεφε ἡ γυνὴ
 τοῦ βουκόλου, οὐνομα ἄλλο κού τι καὶ οὐ Κύρον θεμένη.
 114 Καὶ ὅτε δὴ ἦν δεκαέτης ὁ παῖς, πρῆγμα ἐς αὐτὸν
 τοῖονδε γενόμενον ἐξέφηνέ μιν. ἔπαιζε ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ
 ἐν τῇ ἦσαν καὶ αἱ βουκολαὶ αὐται, ἔπαιζε δὲ μετ’ ἄλλων
 ἡλίκων ἐν ὁδῷ· καὶ οἱ παῖδες παίζοντες εἴλοντο ἑωυτῶν

βασιλέα εἶναι τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τοῦ βουκόλου ἐπὶ κλησιν
 παῖδα. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν διέταξε τοὺς μὲν, οἰκίας οἰκοδομέειν
 τοὺς δὲ, δορυφόρους εἶναι· τὸν δὲ κου τινὰ αὐτῶν, ὀφ-
 θαλμὸν βασιλέος εἶναι· τῷ δὲ τι, τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐσφέρειν
 ἐδίδου γέρας· ὥς ἐκάστῳ ἔργον προστάσων. εἰς δὴ
 τούτων τῶν παιδίων συμπαίζων, ἐὼν Ἀρτεμβάρεος παῖς,
 ἀνδρὸς δοκίμου ἐν Μήδοισι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐποίησε τὸ προσ-
 ταχθὲν ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου· ἐκέλευε αὐτὸν τοὺς ἄλλους παῖδας
 διαλαβεῖν. πειθομένων δὲ τῶν παιδων, ὁ Κύρος τὸν
 παῖδα τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε μαστιγέων· ὁ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε
 μετεῖθη τάχιστα, ὥς γε δὴ ἀνάξια ἐωυτοῦ παθὼν, μᾶλλον
 τι περιημέκτε· κατελθὼν δὲ ἐς πόλιν, πρὸς τὸν πατέρα
 ἀποικτίζετο τῶν ὑπὸ Κυρου ἡντησε, λέγων δὲ οὐ Κυρου,
 (οὐ γὰρ κω ἦν τοῦτο τοῦνομα,) ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου
 τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος παιδός. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρτεμβάρης ὀργή, ὥς
 εἶχε, ἐλθὼν παρὰ τὸν Ἀστυάγεα, καὶ ἅμα ἀγόμενος τὸν
 παῖδα, ἀνάρσια πρήγματα ἔφη πεπουθῆναι, λέγων· “ὦ
 “ βασιλεῦ, ὑπὸ τοῦ σου δούλου, βουκόλου δὲ παιδός, ὧδε
 “ περιῦβρίσμεθα.” (δεικνὺς τοῦ παιδός τοὺς ὤμους.)
 Ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ Ἀστυάγης, θέλων τιμωρῆσαι τῷ 115
 παιδί τιμῆς τῆς Ἀρτεμβάρεος εἵνεκα, μετεπέμπετο τὸν τε
 βουκόλον καὶ τὸν παῖδα. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ παρήσαν ἀμφοτέροι,
 βλέψας πρὸς τὸν Κύρον ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἔφη· “Σὺ δὴ, ἐὼν
 “ τοῦδε τοιοῦτου ἐόντος παῖς, ἐτόλμησας τὸν τοῦδε παῖδα,
 “ ἐόντος πρώτου παρ’ ἐμοί, ἀεικίῃ τοιῇδε περισπεῖν;” Ὁ
 δὲ ἀμείβετο ὧδε· “ὦ δέσποτα, ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦτον
 “ ἐποίησα σὺν δίκῃ. οἱ γὰρ με ἐκ τῆς κώμης παῖδες, τῶν
 “ καὶ ὧδε ἦν, παίζοντες σφέων αὐτῶν ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα.
 “ ἐδόκεον γὰρ σφί εἶναι ἐς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεώτατος. οἱ μὲν
 “ νυν ἄλλοι παῖδες τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον, οὗτος δὲ
 “ ἀνηκούστεέ τε καὶ λόγον εἶχε οὐδένα, ἐς ὃ ἔλαβε τὴν
 “ δίκην. εἰ ὦν δὴ τοῦδε εἵνεκα ἀξίός τευ κακοῦ εἰμὶ, ὧδε
 “ τοι πάρειμι.” Ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ παιδός, τὸν Ἀστυ- 116
 ἄγεα ἐσῆει ἀνάγνωσις αὐτοῦ· καὶ οἱ ὅ τε χαρακτήρ τοῦ
 προσώπου προσφέρεσθαι ἐδόκεε ἐς ἐωυτὸν, καὶ ἡ ὑπόκρισις
 ἐλευθερωτέρη εἶναι· ὅ τε χρόνος τῆς ἐκθέσιος τῇ ἡλικίῃ
 τοῦ παιδός ἐδόκεε συμβαίνειν. ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ τούτοις,
 ἐπὶ χρόνον ἄφθογγος ἦν. μόγις δὲ δὴ κοτε ἀνενευχθεὶς,

εἶπε, θέλων ἐκπέμψαι τὸν Ἀρτεμβάρεα, ἵνα τὸν βουκόλον μῦνον λαβὼν βασανίσῃ. “Ἀρτέμβαρες, ἐγὼ πάντα ποιήσω, ὥστε σὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν σὸν μηδὲν ἐπιμέμψεσθαι.” Τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἀρτεμβάρεα πέμπει· τὸν δὲ Κῦρον ἦγον ἔσω οἱ θεράποντες, κελεύσαντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπελέλειπτο ὁ βουκόλος μῦνος μουνόθεν, τάδε αὐτὸν εἶρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης, κόθεν λάβοι τὸν παῖδα, καὶ τίς εἴη ὁ παραδούς. ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ τε ἔφη γεγονέναι, καὶ τὴν τεκοῦσαν αὐτὸν ἔτι εἶναι παρ’ ἑωυτῷ. Ἀστυάγης δέ μιν οὐκ εὖ βουλευέσθαι ἔφη, ἐπιθυμέοντα ἐς ἀνάγκας μεγάλας ἀπικνέεσθαι· ἅμα τε λέγων ταῦτα, ἐσήμαινε τοῖσι δορυφόροισι λαμβάνειν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ, ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς ἀνάγκας, οὕτω δὴ ἔφαινε τὸν ἔοντα λόγον. ἀρχόμενος δὴ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς διεξήκει, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ χρεώμενος· καὶ κατέβαινε ἐς λιτας τε, καὶ συγγνώμην ἑωυτῷ κελεύων ἔχειν αὐτόν.

- 117 Ἀστυάγης δὲ, τοῦ μὲν βουκόλου τὴν ἀληθειάν ἐκφάναντος, λόγον ἤδη καὶ ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο· Ἀρπάγῳ δὲ καὶ μεγάλως μεμφόμενος, καλέειν αὐτόν τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκέλευε. ὥς δὲ οἱ παρῆν ὁ Ἀρπαγος, εἶρετό μιν ὁ Ἀστυάγης· “Ἀρπαγε, τέω δὴ μόρῳ τὸν παῖδα κατεχρήσαο, τὸν “τοι παρέδωκα ἐκ θυγατρὸς γεγονότα τῆς ἐμῆς;” Ὁ δὲ Ἀρπαγος, ὡς εἶδε τὸν βουκόλον ἔνδον ἔοντα, οὐ τρέπεται ἐπὶ ψευδέα ὁδόν, ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχόμενος ἀλίσκηται· ἀλλὰ λέγει τάδε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπεὶ τε παρέλαβον τὸ παιδίον, “ἐβούλευον σκοπῶν ὅπως σοί τε ποιήσω κατὰ νόον, καὶ “ἐγὼ πρὸς σὲ γινόμενος ἀναμάρτητος, μήτε θυγατρὶ τῇ “σῇ, μήτε αὐτῷ σοι εἶην ἀνθένης. ποιῶ δὴ ὧδε. καλέσας “τὸν βουκόλον τόνδε, παραδίδωμι τὸ παιδίον, φὰς σέ τε “εἶναι τὸν κελεύοντα ἀποκτείνειν αὐτό. καὶ λέγων τοῦτό “γε, οὐκ ἐψευδόμην· σὺ γὰρ ἐνετέλλεο οὕτω. παραδίδωμι “μέντοι τῷδε κατὰ τάδε, ἐντειλάμενος θεῖναι μιν ἐς ἐρήμον “οὕρος, καὶ παραμένοντα φυλάσσειν ἄχρι οὗ τελευτήσῃ· “ἀπειλήσας παντοῖα τῷδε, ἣν μὴ τάδε ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃ. “ἐπεὶ τε δὲ, ποιήσαντος τούτου τὰ κελευόμενα, ἐτελεύτησε “τὸ παιδίον, πέμψας τῶν εὐνούχων τοὺς πιστοτάτους, καὶ “εἶδον δι’ ἐκείνων, καὶ ἔθαψά μιν. οὕτως ἔσχε, ὦ “βασιλεῦ, περὶ τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου· καὶ τοιούτῳ μόρῳ “ἐχρήσατο ὁ παῖς.”

"Ἀρπαγος μὲν δὴ τὸν ἰθὺν ἔφαινε λόγον. Ἀστυάγης 118
 δὲ, κρύπτων τὸν οἱ ἐνείχῃε χόλον διὰ τὸ γεγονὸς, πρῶτα
 μὲν, κατὰπερ ἤκουσε αὐτὸς πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ πρῆγμα,
 πάλιν ἀπηγγέετο τῷ Ἀρπάγῳ· μετὰ δὲ, ὥς οἱ ἐπαλιλ-
 λόγητο, κατέβαινε λέγων, ὥς "περίεστί τε ὁ παῖς, καὶ τὸ
 "γεγονὸς ἔχει καλῶς. Τῷ τε γὰρ πεποιημένῳ, ἔφη λέγων,
 "ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον ἔκαμνον μεγάλως, καὶ θυγατρὶ τῇ
 "ἐμῇ διαβεβλημένος οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ἐποιεῦμην. ὥς ὦν
 "τῆς τύχης εὖ μετεστεώσης, τοῦτο μὲν, τὸν σεωυτοῦ
 "παῖδα ἀπόπεμψον παρὰ τὸν παῖδα τὸν νεήλυδα· τοῦτο
 "δὲ, (σῶστρα γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς μέλλω θίειν τοῖσι θεῶν
 "τιμῇ αὕτη προσέκειται,) πάρισθί μοι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον." Ἀρ- 119
 παγος μὲν, ὥς ἤκουσε ταῦτα, προσκυνήσας, καὶ μεγάλη
 ποιησάμενος ὅτι τε ἡ ἀμαρτὰς οἱ ἐς δέον ἐγγέγονε, καὶ ὅτι
 ἐπὶ τύχησι χρηστῇσι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον κέκλητο, ἥϊε ἐς τὰ οἰκία.
 ἐσελθὼν δὲ τὴν ταχίστην, ἣν γὰρ οἱ παῖς εἰς μῦνος, ἔτεα
 τρία καὶ δέκα κου μάλιστα γεγονῶς, τοῦτον ἐκπέμπει,
 ἰέναι τε κελεύων ἐς Ἀστυάγεος, καὶ ποιεῖν ὅ τι αὖ ἐκεῖνος
 κελεύῃ. αὐτὸς δὲ περιχαρὴς ἔων, φράζει τῇ γυναικὶ τὰ
 συγκυρήσαντα. Ἀστυάγης δὲ, ὥς οἱ ἀπίκητο ὁ Ἀρπάγου
 παῖς, σφάξας αὐτὸν, καὶ κατὰ μέλεα διελὼν, τὰ μὲν
 ᾤπησε, τὰ δὲ ἔψησε τῶν κρεῶν· εὐτυχτα δὲ ποιησάμενος,
 εἶχε ἐτοῖμα. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ, τῆς ὥρης γινομένης τοῦ δεῖπνου,
 παρήσαν οἱ τε ἄλλοι δαιτυμόνες καὶ ὁ Ἀρπαγος, τοῖσι
 μὲν ἄλλοισι καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀστυάγεϊ παρετιθέατο τράπεζαι
 ἐπιπλέαι μηλείων κρεῶν· Ἀρπάγῳ δὲ, τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ
 ἑωυτοῦ, πλὴν κεφαλῆς τε καὶ ἁκρῶν χειρῶν τε καὶ ποδῶν,
 τὰ ἄλλα πάντα· ταῦτα δὲ χωρὶς ἔκειτο ἐπὶ κανέῳ κατα-
 κεκαλυμμένα. ὥς δὲ τῷ Ἀρπάγῳ ἐδόκεε ἄλις ἔχειν τῆς
 βορῆς, Ἀστυάγης εἵρετό μιν, εἰ ἡσθήη τι τῇ θοίνῃ
 φαμένου δὲ Ἀρπάγου καὶ κάρτα ἡσθῆναι, παρέφερον,
 τοῖσι προσέκειτο, τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς κατακεκαλυμ-
 μένην, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας· Ἀρπαγον δὲ ἐκέ-
 λευον προστάντες ἀποκαλύπτειν τε καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ βούλεται
 αὐτῶν. πειθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρπαγος, καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων,
 ὁρᾷ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ λείμματα· ἰδὼν δὲ, οὔτε ἐξεπλάγη,
 ἐντὸς τε ἑωυτοῦ γίνεται. εἵρετο δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀστυάγης, εἰ
 γινώσκει ὅτευ θηρίου κρέα βεβρώκοι. ὁ δὲ καὶ γινώσκειν

ἔφη, καὶ ἀρεστὸν εἶναι πᾶν τὸ ἂν βασιλεὺς ἔρδῃ. τούτοισι δὲ ἀμειψάμενος, καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κρεῶν, ἦϊε ἐς τὰ οἰκία. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἔμελλε, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἀλίστας θάψειν τὰ πάντα.

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Ἀρπάγῳ μὲν Ἀστυάγης δίκην ταύτην ἐπέθηκε. Κύρου δὲ πέρι βουλευόντων, ἐκάλεσε τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῶν μάγων οἳ τὸ ἐνύπνιον οἱ ταύτῃ ἔκριναν. ἀπικομένους δὲ εἶρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῇ ἔκρινάν οἱ τὴν ὄψιν· οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτά εἶπαν, λέγοντες ὡς βασιλεῦσαι χρῆν τὸν παῖδα, εἰ ἐπέζωσε καὶ μὴ ἀπέθανε πρότερον. Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται αὐτοὺς τοῖσδε· “Ἔστι τε ὁ παῖς, καὶ περίεστι· καὶ μιν, ἐπ’ ἀγροῦ διαί-
“ τώμενον, οἱ ἐκ τῆς κώμης παῖδες ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα. ὁ
“ δὲ πάντα, ὅσα περ οἱ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ βασιλέες, ἐτελέωσε
“ ποιήσας. καὶ γὰρ δορυφόρους, καὶ θυρωροὺς, καὶ ἀγ-
“ γελιηφόρους, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα διατάξας εἶχε. καὶ
“ νῦν ἐς τί ὑμῖν ταῦτα φαίνεται φέρειν;” Εἶπαν οἱ μάγοι·
“ Εἰ μὲν περίεστί τε, καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ὁ παῖς μὴ ἐκ προ-
“ νοίης τινὸς, θάρσει τε τούτου εἵνεκα, καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε
“ ἀγαθόν. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τὸ δεύτερον ἄρξει. παρὰ σμικρὰ
“ γὰρ καὶ τῶν λογίων ἡμῖν ἓν κεχώρηκε· καὶ τά γε τῶν
“ ὀνειράτων ἐχόμενα τέλεως ἐς ἀσθενὲς ἔρχεται.” Ἀμεί-
βεται Ἀστυάγης τοῖσδε· “ Καὶ αὐτὸς, ὦ μάγοι, ταύτῃ
“ πλεῖστος γνώμην εἰμί, βασιλέος ὀνομασθέντος τοῦ παι-
“ δος, ἐξήκειν τε τὸν ὄνειρον, καὶ μοι τὸν παῖδα τούτου
“ εἶναι δεινὸν οὐδὲν ἔτι. ὅμως μὲν γε τοι συμβουλεύσατέ
“ μοι, εὖ περισκεψάμενοι, τὰ μέλλει ἀσφαλέστατα εἶναι
“ οἴκῳ τε τῷ ἐμῷ καὶ ὑμῖν.” Εἶπαν πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ μάγοι·
“ ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν περὶ πολλοῦ ἐστὶ κατορ-
“ θοῦσθαι ἀρχὴν τὴν σὴν. κείνως μὲν γὰρ ἀλλοτριοῦται,
“ ἐς τὸν παῖδα τούτου περιϊούσα, ἔοντα Πέρσῃν· καὶ ἡμεῖς,
“ ἔοντες Μῆδοι, δουλούμεθά τε, καὶ λόγου οὐδενὸς γινόμεθα
“ πρὸς Περσέων, ἔοντες ξεῖνοι· σέο δ’ ἐνεστεῶτος βασι-
“ λέος, ἔοντος πολιήτεω, καὶ ἄρχομεν τὸ μέρος, καὶ τιμὰς
“ πρὸς σέο μεγάλας ἔχομεν. οὕτω ὦν πάντως ἡμῖν σέο τε
“ καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς προοπτέον ἐστὶ· καὶ νῦν εἰ φοβερόν
“ τι ἐωρῶμεν, πᾶν ἂν σοι προεφράζομεν· νῦν δὲ ἀποσκή-
“ ψαντος τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐς φλαῦρον, αὐτοί τε θαρσέομεν,
“ καὶ σοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα παρακελεύομεθα· τὸν δὲ παῖδα

“ τοῦτον ἐξ οφθαλμῶν ἀπόπεμψαι ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς
 “ γειναμένους.” Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἐχάρη τε, 121
 καὶ καλέσας τὸν Κῦρον, ἔλεγέ οἱ τάδε· “ ὦ παῖ, σὲ γὰρ
 “ ἐγὼ δι’ ὄψιν ὀνείρου οὐ τελέην ἡδίκεον, τῇ σευυτοῦ δὲ
 “ μοίρῃ περίεις· νῦν ὦν ἴθι χαίρων ἐς Πέρσας, πομποὺς δ’
 “ ἐγὼ ἅμα πέμψω. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖ, πατέρα τε καὶ μητέρα
 “ εὐρήσεις, οὐ κατὰ Μιτραδάτην τε τὸν βουκόλον καὶ τὴν
 “ γυναικα αὐτοῦ.”

Ταῦτα εἶπας ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἀποπέμπει τὸν Κῦρον. 122
 νοστήσαντα δέ μιν ἐς τοῦ Καμβύσεω τὰ οἰκία, ἐδέξαντο
 οἱ γεινάμενοι καὶ δεξάμενοι, ὥς ἐπιθύοντο, μεγάλως ἀσπά-
 ζοντο, οἷα δὴ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτίκα τότε τελευτῆσαι ἴσ-
 τόρεόν τε ὅτῳ τρόπῳ περιγένοιτο. ὁ δὲ σφι ἔλεγε, φᾶς
 πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὐκ εἰδέναι, ἀλλὰ ἡμαρτηκέναι πλείστον, κατ’
 ὁδὸν δὲ πυθέσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πάθην. ἐπίστασθαι
 μὲν γὰρ, ὥς βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος εἶη παῖς· ἀπὸ δὲ
 τῆς κείθεν ὁδοῦ τὸν πάντα λόγον τῶν πομπῶν πυθέσθαι.
 τραφῆναι δὲ ἔλεγε ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ βουκόλου γυναικός. ἥϊέ
 τε ταύτην αἰνέων διὰ παντός· ἦν τέ οἱ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τὰ
 πάντα ἡ Κυνώ. οἱ δὲ τοκέες, παραλαβόντες τὸ οὖνομα
 τοῦτο, ἵνα θειοτέρως δοκῇ τοῖσι Πέρσησι περιεῖναι σφι ὁ
 παῖς, κατέβαλον φάτιν ὥς ἐκκείμενον Κῦρον κύων ἐξέ-
 θρεψε. ἐνθεύτεν μὲν ἡ φάτις αὕτη κεχώρηκε.

Κύρῳ δὲ ἀνδρευμένῳ, καὶ ἔοντι τῶν ἡλίκων ἀνδρειο- 123
 τάτῳ καὶ προσφιλεστάτῳ, προσέκειτο ὁ Ἄρπαγος, δῶρα
 πέμπων, τίσασθαι Ἀστυάγεα ἐπιθυμέων. ἀπ’ ἑωυτοῦ
 γὰρ, ἔοντος ἰδιώτεω, οὐκ ἐνεώρα τιμωρίην ἐσομένην ἐς
 Ἀστυάγεα· Κῦρον δὲ ὀρέων ἐπιτρεφόμενον, ἐποίεετο σύμ-
 μαχον, τὰς πάθας τὰς Κύρου τῇσι ἑωυτοῦ ὁμοιούμενος.
 πρὸ δ’ ἔτι τούτου τάδε οἱ κατέργαστο· ἔοντος τοῦ Ἀστυ-
 άγεος πικροῦ ἐς τοὺς Μήδους, συμμίσγων ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ ὁ
 Ἄρπαγος τῶν πρώτων Μήδων, ἀνέπειθε ὥς χρὴ Κῦρον
 προσθησαμένους τὸν Ἀστυάγεα παῦσαι τῆς βασιληΐας.
 κατειργασμένου δὲ οἱ τούτου, καὶ ἔοντος ἐτοίμου, οὕτω δὴ
 τῷ Κύρῳ διαιτωμένῳ ἐν Πέρσησι βουλόμενος ὁ Ἄρπαγος
 δηλῶσαι τὴν ἑωυτοῦ γνώμην, ἄλλως μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἶχε,
 ἅτε τῶν ὁδῶν φυλασσομένων· ὁ δὲ ἐπιτεχνᾷται τοιούδε.
 λαγὸν μηχανησάμενος, καὶ ἀνασχίσας τούτου τὴν γασ-

τέρα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποτίλας, ὥς δὲ εἶχε, οὕτω ἐσέθηκε βιβλίον, γράψας τὰ οἱ ἐδόκεε. ἀπορράψας δὲ τοῦ λαγοῦ τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ δίκτυα δούς, ἅτε θηρευτῇ, τῶν οἰκετέων τῷ πιστοτάτῳ, ἀπέστειλε ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας· ἐντειλάμενός οἱ ἀπὸ γλώσσης, διδόντα τὸν λαγὸν Κύρῳ ἐπειπεῖν, αὐτοχειρῇ μιν διελεῖν, καὶ μηδένα οἱ ταῦτα ποιεῖντι παρῆναι.

- 124 Ταῦτά τε δὴ ὦν ἐπιτελέα ἐγίνετο· καὶ ὁ Κύρος παραλαβὼν τὸν λαγὸν ἀνέσχισε. εὐρῶν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ βιβλίον ἐνεόν, λαβὼν ἐπελέγετο· τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἔλεγε τάδε· “Ὁ παῖ Καμβύσεω, σὲ γὰρ θεοὶ ἐπορέωσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἄν κοτε ἐς τοσοῦτον τύχης ἀπίκεν. σὺ νῦν Ἀστυάγεα τὸν “σεωυτοῦ φονέα τίσαι. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν τούτου προθυμίῃν τέθνηκας· τὸ δὲ κατὰ θεοῦς τε καὶ ἐμὲ περίεις. “τά σε καὶ πάλαι δοκέω πάντα ἐκμεμαθηκέναι, σέο τε “αὐτοῦ πέρι ὥς ἐπρήχθη, καὶ οἷα ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος “πέπονθα, ὅτι σε οὐκ ἀπέκτεινα, ἀλλὰ ἔδωκα τῷ βου- “κόλῳ. σὺ νῦν ἢ βούλῃ ἐμοὶ πείθεσθαι, τῇσπερ Ἀσ- “τυάγης ἄρχει χώρης, ταύτης ἀπάσης ἄρξεις. Πέρσας “γὰρ ἀναπείσας ἀπίστασθαι, στρατηλάτεις ἐπὶ Μήδους· “καὶ ἦν τε ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος ἀποδεχθῶ στρατηγός “ἀντὶα σεῦ, ἔστι τοι τὰ σὺ βούλει, ἦν τε τῶν τις “δοκίμων ἄλλος Μήδων. πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἀποστάντες “ἀπ’ ἐκείνου, καὶ γενόμενοι πρὸς σέο, Ἀστυάγεα κατα- “ρέειν πειρήσονται· ὥς ὦν ἐτοίμου τοῦ γε ἐνθάδε ἔοντος, “ποῖεε ταῦτα, καὶ ποῖεε κατὰ τάχος.”

- 125 Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κύρος, ἐφρόντιζε ὅτεω τρόπῳ σοφωτάτῳ Πέρσας ἀναπείσει ἀπίστασθαι. φροντίζων δὲ, εὐρίσκεται ταῦτα καιριώτατα εἶναι· ἐποίεε δὲ τάδε. γράψας ἐς βιβλίον τὰ ἐβρύλετο, ἀλήν τῶν Περσέων ἐποίησατο· μετὰ δὲ, ἀναπτύξας τὸ βιβλίον καὶ ἐπιλεγόμενος, ἔφη Ἀστυαγέα μιν στρατηγὸν Περσέων ἀποδεικνύναι. “Νῦν, ἔφη τε λέγων, ὦ Πέρσαι, προαγορεύω “ὑμῖν, παρῆναι ἕκαστον ἔχοντα δρέπανον.” Κύρος μὲν ταῦτα προηγόρευσε. Ἔστι δὲ Περσέων συχρὰ γένεα· καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὁ Κύρος συνάλισε, καὶ ἀνέπεισε ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ Μήδων. ἔστι δὲ τάδε, ἐξ ὧν ὅλλοι πάντες ἀρτέαται Πέρσαι· Πασαργάδαι, Μαράφιοι, Μάσπιοι. τούτων Πασαργάδαι εἰσὶ ἄριστοι· ἐν τοῖσι καὶ Ἀχαιμενίδαι εἰσὶ

φρήτρη, ἔνθεν οἱ βασιλῆες οἱ Περσεῖδαι γεγόνασιν. ἄλλοι δὲ Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἷδε· Πανθιαλαῖοι, Δηρουσιαῖοι, Γερμάνιοι· οὗτοι μὲν πάντες ἀροτῆρές εἰσι. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, νομάδες· Δάοι, Μάρδοι, Δροπικοὶ, Σαγάρτιοι. Ὡς δὲ 126 παρήσαν ἅπαντες ἔχοντες τὸ προειρημένον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος (ἦν γὰρ τις χῶρος τῆς Περσικῆς ἀκανθώδης ὅσον τε ἐπὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα σταδίους ἢ εἴκοσι πάντη) τοῦτόν σφι τὸν χῶρον προεῖπε ἐξημερῶσαι ἐν ἡμέρῃ. ἐπιτελεσάντων δὲ τῶν Περσέων τὸν προκείμενον ἀέθλον, δευτέρᾳ σφι προεῖπε, ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην παρεῖναι λελουμένους. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὰ τε αἰπόλια καὶ τὰς ποιμένας καὶ τὰ βουκόλια ὁ Κῦρος πάντα τοῦ πατρὸς συναλίσσας ἐς τὸντο, ἔθνε, καὶ παρεσκεύαζε ὡς δεξιόμενος τῶν Περσέων τὸν στρατόν· πρὸς δὲ οἶνω τε καὶ σιτίοισι ὡς ἐπιτηδεωτάτοισι. ἀπικομένους δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίῃ τοὺς Πέρσας κατακλίνας ἐς λειμῶνα, εὐώχῃ. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, εἵρετό σφεας ὁ Κῦρος κότερα τὰ τῇ προτεραίῃ εἶχον, ἢ τὰ παρεόντα σφι εἶη αἰρετώτερα. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν, πολλὸν εἶναι αὐτῶν τὸ μέσον. τὴν μὲν γὰρ προτέρην ἡμέρην πάντα σφι κακὰ ἔχειν· τὴν δὲ τότε παρεοῦσαν, πάντα ἀγαθὰ. Παραλαβὼν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ Κῦρος παρεγύμνου τὸν πάντα λόγον, λέγων· “Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὕτω ὑμῖν ἔχει. βουλομένοισι μὲν ἐμέο πείθεσθαι, ἔστι τάδε τε καὶ ἄλλα· “μυρία ἀγαθὰ, οὐδένα πόνον δουλοπρεπείᾳ ἔχουσι· μὴ “βουλομένοισι δὲ ἐμέο πείθεσθαι, εἰσὶ ὑμῖν πόνοι τῷ “χθιζῶ παραπλήσιοι ἀναρίθμητοι. νῦν ὦν ἐμέο πειθόμενοι, γίνεσθε ἐλεύθεροι. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ δοκέω θείῃ τύχῃ “γεγονῶς τάδε ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι καὶ ὑμέας ἡγῆμαι “ἄνδρας Μήδων εἶναι οὐ φανλοτέρους, οὔτε τὰ ἄλλα, “οὔτε τὰ πολέμια. ὡς ὦν ἐχόντων ὧδε, ἀπίστασθε ἀπ’ “Ἀστυάγεος τὴν ταχίστην.”

Πέρσαι μὲν νυν προστάτῃ ἐπιλαβόμενοι, ἄσμενοι 127 ἐλευθεροῦντο, καὶ πάλαι δεινὸν ποιούμενοι ὑπὸ Μήδων ἄρχεσθαι· Ἀστυάγης δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο Κῦρον πρῆσσοντα ταῦτα, πέμψας ἄγγελον, ἐκάλεε αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐκέλευε τὸν ἄγγελον ἀπαγγέλλειν, ὅτι πρότερον ἥξει παρ’ ἐκείνου ἢ αὐτὸς Ἀστυάγης βουλήσεται. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης Μήδους τε ὥπλισε πάντας, καὶ στρα-

- τηγὸν αὐτῶν, ὥστε θεοβλαβῆς ἑὼν, ἀπέδεξε Ἀρπαγον, λήθην ποιούμενος τὰ μιν ἐόργεε. ὥς δ' οἱ Μῆδοι στρατευσάμενοι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι συνέμισγον, οἱ μὲν τινες αὐτῶν ἐμάχοντο, ὅσοι μὴ τοῦ λόγου μετέσχον· οἱ δὲ αὐτομόλεον πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας· οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἐθελοκάκεόν τε
- 128 καὶ ἔφευγον. Διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ στρατεύματος αἰσχροῶς, ὥς ἐπύθετο τάχιστα ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἔφη, ἀπειλέων τῷ Κύρῳ· “Ἄλλ' οὐδ' ὥς ὁ Κύρος γε χαίρη-
“σει.” Τοσαῦτα εἶπας, πρῶτον μὲν τῶν μάγων τοὺς ὄνειροπόλους, οἳ μιν ἀνέγνωσαν μετεῖναι τὸν Κύρον, τούτους ἀνεσκολόπισε. μετὰ δὲ, ὥπλισε τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν Μήδων ἐν τῷ ἄστει, νέους τε καὶ πρεσβύτας ἄνδρας. ἐξαγαγὼν δὲ τούτους, καὶ συμβαλὼν τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, ἐσσώθη· καὶ αὐτὸς τε Ἀστυάγης ἐξωγήθη, καὶ
- 129 τοὺς ἐξήγαγε τῶν Μήδων ἀπέβαλε. Ἔοντι δὲ αἰχμαλώτῳ τῷ Ἀστυαγεί προστὰς ὁ Ἀρπαγος, κατέχαιρέ τε καὶ κατεκερτόμее, καὶ ἄλλα λέγων ἐς αὐτὸν θυμαλγέα ἔπεα, καὶ δὴ καὶ εἶρετό μιν, πρὸς τὸ ἑωυτοῦ δεῖπνον, τό μιν ἐκεῖνος σαρξὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐθοίνησε, “ὅ τι εἴη ἢ ἐκείνου
“δουλοσύνη ἀντὶ τῆς βασιληΐης.” ὁ δὲ μιν προσιδὼν ἀντείρετο, εἰ ἑωυτοῦ ποίεεται τὸ Κύρου ἔργον. Ἀρπαγος δὲ ἔφη, αὐτὸς γὰρ γράψαι, τὸ πρῆγμα δὴ ἑωυτοῦ δικαίως εἶναι. Ἀστυάγης δὲ μιν ἀπέφαινε τῷ λόγῳ “σκαϊότατόν
“τε καὶ ἀδικώτατον ἔοντα πάντων ἀνθρώπων· σκαϊότα-
“τον μὲν γε, εἰ παρεὸν αὐτῷ βασιλέα γενέσθαι, εἰ δὴ
“δὴ ἑωυτοῦ γε ἐπρήχθη τὰ παρεόντα, ἄλλῳ περιέθηκε
“τὸ κράτος· ἀδικώτατον δὲ, ὅτι τοῦ δεῖπνου εἵνεκεν
“Μήδους κατεδούλωσε. εἰ γὰρ δὴ δέον πάντως περι-
“θεῖναι ἄλλῳ τέφῃ τὴν βασιληΐην, καὶ μὴ αὐτὸν ἔχειν,
“δικαιότερον εἶναι Μήδων τέφῃ περιβαλεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἀγα-
“θὸν ἢ Περσέων. νῦν δὲ Μήδους μὲν, ἀναιτίους τούτου
“ἔοντας, δούλους ἀντὶ δεσποτέων γεγονέναι· Πέρσας δὲ,
“δούλους ἔοντας τὸ πρὶν Μήδων, νῦν γεγονέναι δεσπό-
“τας.”
- 130 Ἀστυάγης μὲν νυν, βασιλεύσας ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα, οὕτω τῆς βασιληΐης κατεπαύσθη· Μῆδοι δὲ ὑπέκνυσαν Πέρσῃσι διὰ τὴν τούτου πικρότητα, ἄρξαντες τῆς ἄνω Ἀλυσ ποταμοῦ Ἀσίης ἐπ' ἔτεα τριήκοντα καὶ

ἑκατὸν δυῶν δέοντα, παρέξ ἢ ὅσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἦρχον. Ὑστέρω μέντοι χρόνῳ μετεμέλησέ τέ σφι ταῦτα ποιήσασιν, καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Δαρείου ἀποστάντες δέ, ὀπίσω κατεστράφησαν, μάχῃ νικηθέντες. τότε δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀστυάγεος οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπαναστάντες τοῖσι Μήδοισι, ἦρχον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς Ἀσίης. Ἀστυάγεα δὲ Κῦρος, κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας, εἶχε παρ' ἐωυτῷ ἐς ὃ ἐτελεύτησε. Οὕτω δὲ Κῦρος γενόμενός τε καὶ τραφεὶς ἐβασίλευσε· καὶ Κροῖσον ὕστερον τούτων ἄρξαντα ἀδικίης κατεστρέψατο, ὡς εἴρηται μοι τὸ πρότερον. τούτου δὲ καταστρεφάμενος, οὕτω πάσης τῆς Ἀσίης ἦρξε.

Πέρσας δὲ οἶδα νόμοισι τοῖσδε χρεωμένους· ἀγάλ- 131
ματα μὲν καὶ νηοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ποιευμένους ἰδρύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖσι ποιεῦσι μωρίην ἐπιφέρουσι· ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς, κατὰπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἶναι. οἱ δὲ νομίζουσι Διὶ μὲν, ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν οὐρέων ἀναβαίνοντες, θυσίας ἔρδειν, τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες· θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ γῇ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμοισι. τούτοις μὲν δὴ μούνοισι θύουσι ἀρχήθεν. ἐπιμεμαθήκασιν δὲ καὶ τῇ Οὐρανίῃ θύειν, παρὰ τε Ἀσσυρίων μαθόντες καὶ Ἀραβίων. καλέουσι δὲ Ἀσσύριοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, Μύλιττα· Ἀράβιοι δὲ, Ἄλιττα· Πέρσαι δὲ, Μίτραν. Θυσίῃ δὲ τοῖσι 132
Πέρσησι περὶ τοὺς εἰρημένους θεοὺς ἥδε κατέστηκε. οὔτε βωμοὺς ποιεῦνται, οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι, μέλλοντες θύειν· οὐ σπονδῇ χρέωνται, οὐκὶ αὐλῷ, οὐ στέμμασι, οὐκὶ οὐλῇσι. τῶν δὲ ὡς ἐκάστῳ θύειν θέλει, ἐς χώρον καθαρὸν ἀγαγὼν τὸ κτήνος, καλέει τὸν θεόν, ἐστεφανωμένος τὸν τιάραν μυρσίῃ μάλιστα. ἐωυτῷ μὲν δὴ τῷ θύοντι ἰδίῃ μούνῳ οὐ οἱ ἐγγίνεται ἀρᾶσθαι ἀγαθὰ· ὁ δὲ πᾶσι τοῖσι Πέρσησι κατεύχεται εὖ γίνεσθαι, καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ. ἐπεὶ δὲ διαμιστύλας κατὰ μέρεα τὸ ἱρήϊον ἐφήσῃ τὰ κρέα, ὑποπάσας ποιήν ὡς ἀπαλωτάτην, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ τρίφυλλον, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἔθηκε ὦν πάντα τὰ κρέα· διαθέτος δὲ αὐτοῦ, μάγος ἀνὴρ παρεστὼς ἐπαεῖδει θεογονίην, οἷην

- δὴ ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι εἶναι τὴν ἐπαοιδὴν· ἄνευ γὰρ δὴ μάγον
 οὐ σφί νόμος ἐστὶ θυσίας ποιεέσθαι. ἐπισχὼν δὲ ὀλίγον
 χρόνον, ἀποφέρεται ὁ θύσας τὰ κρέα, καὶ χρᾶται ὅ τι
 133 μιν λόγος αἰρέει. Ἡμέρην δὲ ἀπασέων μάλιστα ἐκείνην
 τιμᾶν νομίζουσι, τῇ ἕκαστος ἐγένετο. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ πλέω
 δαῖτα τῶν ἄλλων δικαιοῦσι προτίθεσθαι· ἐν τῇ οἱ εὐδαί-
 μονες αὐτῶν βοῦν καὶ ἵππον καὶ κάμηλον καὶ ὄνον προ-
 τιθέαται, ὅλους ὅπουτος ἐν καμίνουσι· οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν
 τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων προτιθέαται. σίτοισι δὲ ὀλί-
 γοισι χρέωνται, ἐπιφορήμασι δὲ πολλοῖσι, καὶ οὐκ ἀλέσιν
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασὶ Πέρσαι “ τοὺς Ἕλληνας σιτεομένους,
 “ πεινῶντας παύεσθαι, ὅτι σφί ἀπὸ δείπνου παραφορέ-
 “ εται οὐδὲν λόγου ἄξιον· εἰ δέ τι παραφέροιτο, ἐσθίοντας
 “ ἂν οὐ παύεσθαι.” οἶνω δὲ κάρτα προσκέαται· καὶ σφί
 οὐκ ἐμέσαι ἔξεστι, οὐκὶ οὐρῆσαι ἀντίον ἄλλου. ταῦτα
 μὲν νυν οὕτω φυλάσσεται. μεθυσκόμενοι δὲ ἐώθασιν βου-
 λεύεσθαι τὰ σπουδαιέστατα τῶν πρηγμάτων· τὸ δ’ ἂν
 ἄδη σφί βουλευομένοισι, τοῦτο τῇ ὑστεραλῇ νήφουσι
 προτιθεῖ ὁ στέγαρχος, ἐν τοῦ ἂν ἐόντες βουλευόμενοι.
 καὶ ἦν μὲν ἄδη καὶ νήφουσι, χρέωνται αὐτέω· ἦν δὲ
 μὴ ἄδη, μετιεῖσι. τὰ δ’ ἂν νήφοντες προβουλεύσωνται,
 134 μεθυσκόμενοι ἐπιδιαγινώσκουσι. Ἐντυγχάνοντες δ’ ἄλ-
 λήλοισι ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι, τῷδε ἂν τις διαγνοίῃ εἰ ὁμοῖοι
 εἰσὶ οἱ συντυγχάνοντες· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν
 ἀλλήλους, φιλέουσι τοῖσι στόμασι. ἦν δὲ ἢ οὔτερος
 ὑποδεέστερος ὀλίγω, τὰς παρειὰς φιλέονται· ἦν δὲ πολλῶ
 ἢ οὔτερος ἀγεννέστερος, προσπίπτων προσκυνεῖ τὸν ἑτε-
 ρον. τιμῶσι δὲ ἐκ πάντων τοὺς ἀγχιστα ἐωυτῶν οἰκέ-
 οντας, μετὰ γε ἐωυτούς· δεύτερα δὲ, τοὺς δευτέρους· μετὰ
 δὲ, κατὰ λόγον προβαίνοντες τιμῶσι· ἥκιστα δὲ τοὺς
 ἐωυτῶν ἐκαστάτω οἰκημένους ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται· νομίζοντες
 ἐωυτούς εἶναι ἀνθρώπων μακρῶ τὰ πάντα ἀρίστους, τοὺς
 δὲ ἄλλους κατὰ λόγον τὸν λεγόμενον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντέχε-
 σθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκαστάτω οἰκέοντας ἀπὸ ἐωυτῶν κακίστους
 εἶναι. Ἐπὶ δὲ Μῆδων ἀρχόντων, καὶ ἦρχε τὰ ἔθνεα
 ἀλλήλων. συναπάντων μὲν Μῆδοι, καὶ τῶν ἀγχιστα
 οἰκούντων σφίσι· οὗτοι δὲ, καὶ τῶν ὁμοῦρων· οἱ δὲ,
 μάλιστα τῶν ἐχομένων. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ λόγον καὶ

οἱ Πέρσαι τιμῶσι· προέβαινε γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἔθνος ἄρχον τε καὶ ἐπιτροπεύον. Ξεινικὰ δὲ νόμαια Πέρσαι προσίενται 135
 ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσθήτα, νομίσαντες τῆς ἑωυτῶν εἶναι καλλίω, φορέουσιν· καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολέμους, τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους θώρηκας. καὶ εὐπαθείας τε παντοδαπὰς πυνθανόμενοι ἐπιτηδεύουσιν· καὶ δὴ καί, ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες, παισὶ μίσγονται. γαμέουσι δ' ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν κουριδίας γυναῖκας, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας παλλακὰς κτῶνται. Ἀνδραγαθὴ δ' αὕτη 136
 ἀποδέδεκται, μετὰ τὸ μάχεσθαι εἶναι ἀγαθόν, ὃς ἂν πολλοὺς ἀποδέξῃ παῖδας· τῷ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποδεικνύντι, δῶρα ἐκπέμπει ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. τὸ πολλὸν δ' ἡγέεται ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι. παιδεύουσιν δὲ τοὺς παῖδας, ἀπὸ πενταέτεος ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι εἰκοσαέτεος, τρία μούνα, ἱππεύειν, καὶ τοξεύειν, καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι. πρὶν δὲ ἡ πενταέτης γένηται, οὐκ ἀπικνέεται ἐς ὄψιν τῷ πατρὶ, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῇσι γυναῖξι δίαιταν ἔχει. τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκα τοῦτο οὕτω ποιεῖται, ἵνα ἦν ἀποθάνῃ τρεφόμενος, μηδεμίαν ἄσπην τῷ πατρὶ προσβάλλῃ.

Αἰνέω μὲν νυν τόνδε τὸν νόμον· αἰνέω δὲ καὶ τόνδε, 137
 τὸ μὴ μῆς αἰτίας εἵνεκα μῆτε αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα μηδένα φονεύειν, μῆτε τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων μηδένα τῶν ἑωυτοῦ οἰκετέων ἐπὶ μιῇ αἰτίᾳ ἀνήκεστον πάθος ἔρδειν· ἀλλὰ λογισάμενος ἦν εὐρίσκει πλέω τε καὶ μέζω τὰ ἀδικήματα ἑόντα τῶν ὑπουργημάτων, οὕτω τῷ θυμῷ χρᾶται. Ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ οὐδένα κω λέγουσι τὸν ἑωυτοῦ πατέρα, οὐδὲ μητέρα, ἀλλὰ ὁκόσα ἤδη τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο, πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην φασὶ ἀναζητούμενα ταῦτα ἀνευρεθῆναι ἥτοι ὑποβολιμαῖα ἑόντα, ἢ μοιχίδια· οὐ γὰρ δὴ φασὶ οἶκος εἶναι τὸν γε ἀληθέως τοκέα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθνήσκειν. Ἄσσα δὲ σφι ποιεῖεν οὐκ ἔξεστι, ταῦτα οὐδὲ 138
 λέγειν ἔξεστι. αἰσχιστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ ψεύδεσθαι νενόμισται· δεύτερα δὲ, τὸ ὀφείλειν χρέος· πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων εἵνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ ἀναγκαίην φασὶ εἶναι, τὸν ὀφείλοντα καὶ τι ψεύδος λέγειν. Ὃς ἂν δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν λέπρην ἢ λεύκην ἔχῃ, ἐς πόλιν οὗτος οὐ κατέρχεται, οὐδὲ συμμίσγεται τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Πέρσησι· φασὶ δὲ μιν ἐς τὸν ἥλιον ἀμαρτύντα τι, ταῦτα ἔχειν. ξεῖνον δὲ πάντα,

- τὸν λαμβανόμενον ὑπὸ τούτων, πολλοὶ καὶ ἐλαύνουσι ἐκ τῆς χώρας· καὶ τὰς λευκὰς περιστερὰς, τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτὴν ἐπιφέροντες. Ἐς ποταμὸν δὲ οὔτε ἐνούρεουσι, οὔτε ἐμπτύουσι, οὐ χεῖρας ἐναπονίζονται, οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα
- 139 περιορώσι, ἀλλὰ σέβονται ποταμοὺς μάλιστα. Καὶ τὸδε ἄλλο σφι ὧδε συμπέπτωκε γίνεσθαι, τὸ Πέρσας μὲν αὐτοὺς λέληθε, ἡμέας μέντοι οὐ. τὰ οὐνόματά σφι, εἶντα ὁμοῖα τοῖσι σώμασι καὶ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείῃ, τελευτῶσι πάντα ἐς τὸντὸ γράμμα, τὸ Δωριέες μὲν Σὰν καλέουσι, Ἴωνες δὲ Σίγμα. ἐς τοῦτο διζήμενος εὐρήσεις τελευτῶντα τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα, οὐ τὰ μὲν, τὰ δὲ οὐ, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως.
- 140 Ταῦτα μὲν ἀτρεκέως ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν εἰδὼς εἰπεῖν. τὰδε μέντοι ὥς κρυπτόμενα λέγεται, καὶ οὐ σαφηνέως, περὶ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος· ὥς οὐ πρότερον θάπτεται ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω ὁ νέκυσ, πρὶν ἂν ὑπ' ὄρνιθος ἢ κυνὸς ἐλकुσθῇ. μάγους μὲν γὰρ ἀτρεκέως οἶδα ποιέοντας ταῦτα· ἐμφανέως γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦσι. κατακηρώσαντες δὴ ὦν τὸν νέκυν Πέρσαι, γῇ κρύπτουσι. Μάγοι δὲ κεχωριδαται πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἱρέων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνεύουσι ἔμφυχον μηδὲν κτείνειν, εἰ μὴ ὅσα θύουσι. οἱ δὲ δὴ μάγοι αὐτοχειρὶ πάντα, πλην κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπου, κτείνουν· καὶ ἀγώνισμα μέγα τοῦτο ποιεῦνται, κτείνοντες ὁμοίως μύρμηκας τε καὶ ὄφεις, καὶ τᾶλλα ἐρπετὰ καὶ πετεινά. καὶ ἀμφὶ μὲν τῷ νόμῳ τούτῳ ἐχέτω ὥς καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐνομίσθη. ἄνεμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον.
- 141 Ἴωνες δὲ καὶ Αἰολέες, ὥς οἱ Λυδοὶ τάχιστα κατεστράφατο ὑπὸ Περσέων, ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους ἐς Σάρδεις παρὰ Κῦρον, ἐθέλοντες ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι εἶναι τοῖσι καὶ Κροίσῳ ἦσαν κατήκοοι. ὁ δὲ, ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τὰ προῖσχυοντο, ἔλεξε σφι λόγον· “Ἄνδρα, φὰς, αὐλητὴν, ἰδόντα “ἰχθύς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, αὐλέειν, δοκέοντά σφας ἐξελεῦσθαι ἐς γῆν. ὥς δὲ ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος, λαβεῖν “ἀμφίβληστρον, καὶ περιβαλεῖν τε πληθὸς πολλὸν τῶν “ἰχθύων καὶ ἐξειρῦσαι. ἰδόντα δὲ παλλομένους, εἰπεῖν “ἄρα αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἰχθύς· Παύσεθέ μοι ὀρχεόμενοι, “ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἐμέο αὐλέοντος ἠθέλετε ἐκβαίνειν ὀρχεόμενοι.”

Κῦρος μὲν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον τοῖσι Ἴωσι καὶ τοῖσι Αἰολεῦσι τῶνδε εἵνεκα ἔλεξε, ὅτι δὴ οἱ Ἴωνες πρότερον, αὐτοῦ Κύρου δεηθέντος δι' ἀγγέλων ἀπίστασθαί σφεας ἀπὸ Κροίσου, οὐκ ἐπείθοντο· τότε δέ, κατεργασμένων τῶν πρηγμάτων, ἦσαν ἐτοῖμοι πείθεσθαι Κύρῳ. ὁ μὲν δὴ, ὀργῇ ἐχόμενος, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. Ἴωνες δὲ ὡς ἤκουσαν τούτων ἀνενευχθέντων ἐς τὰς πόλεις, τείχεά τε περιεβάλλοντο ἑκαστοι, καὶ συνελέγοντο ἐς Πανιώνιον οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Μιλησίων· πρὸς μούρους γὰρ τούτους ὄρκιον Κῦρος ἐποιήσατο, ἐπ' οἷσί περ ὁ Λυδός. τοῖσι δὲ λοιποῖσι Ἴωσι ἔδοξε κοινῶ λόγῳ πέμπειν ἀγγέλους ἐς Σπάρτην, δεησομένους Ἴωσι τιμωρέειν.

Οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες οὗτοι, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ, τοῦ 142 μὲν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ὠρέων ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ ἐτύγχανον ἰδρυσάμενοι πόλεις πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. οὔτε γὰρ τὰ ἄνω αὐτῆς χωρία τῷτὸ ποιεῖει τῇ Ἰωνίῃ, οὔτε τὰ κάτω, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην· τὰ μὲν, ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ τε καὶ ὑγροῦ πιεζόμενα· τὰ δέ, ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ τε καὶ ἀνχμώδεος. Γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὗτοι νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τρόπους τέσσερας παραγωγέων. Μιλητος μὲν αὐτῶν πρώτη κέεται πόλις πρὸς μεσαμβρίην· μετὰ δὲ, Μυούς τε καὶ Πριήνη· αὗται μὲν ἐν τῇ Καρίῃ κατοικηνται, κατὰ ταῦτά διαλεγόμεναί σφι. αἶδε δὲ ἐν τῇ Λυδίῃ· Ἐφεσος, Κολοφών, Λέβεδος, Τέως, Κλαζομεναί, Φώκαια. αὗται δὲ αἱ πόλεις τῇσι πρότερον λεχθείησι ὁμολογέουσι κατὰ γλῶσσαν οὐδέν, σφὶ δὲ ὁμοφωνέουσι. ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι Ἰάδες πόλεις, τῶν αἱ δύο μὲν νήσους οἰκέαται, Σάμον τε καὶ Χίον· ἡ δὲ μία ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἱδρυται, Ἐρυθραί. Χῖοι μὲν νυν καὶ Ἐρυθραῖοι κατὰ τῷτὸ διαλέγονται, Σάμιοι δὲ ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν μούνοι. οὗτοι χαρακτηριστῆρες γλῶσσης τέσσερες γίνονται.

Τούτων δὴ ὧν τῶν Ἰώνων οἱ Μιλήσιοι μὲν ἦσαν 143 ἐν σκέπη τοῦ φόβου, ὄρκιον ποιησάμενοι. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν νησιώτησι ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν· οὔτε γὰρ Φοίνικες ἦσαν κω Περσέων κατήκοοι, οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ναυβάται. Ἀπεσχίσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων οὗτοι κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ἀσθενέος δὲ ἐόντος τοῦ παντὸς τότε

- Ἑλληνικοῦ γένεος, πολλῶ δὲ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ Ἰωνικόν, καὶ λόγου ἐλαχίστου· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ Ἀθηναί, ἦν οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα λόγιμον. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔφυγον τὸ οὖνομα, οὐ βουλόμενοι Ἴωνες κεκληῖσθαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν φαίνονται μοι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ οὖνόματι. αἱ δὲ δωδεκα πόλιες αὐταὶ τῷ τε οὖνόματι ἡγάλλοντο, καὶ ἱρὸν ἰδρύσαντο ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν, τῷ οὖνομα ἔθεντο Πανιώνιον· ἐβουλευσαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεταδοῦναι μηδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἰώνων· οὐδ' ἐδεήθησαν δὲ οὐδαμοὶ μετασχεῖν, ὅτι
- 144 μὴ Σμυρναῖοι. Κατάπερ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Πενταπόλιος νῦν χώρας Δωριέες, πρότερον δὲ Ἑξαπόλιος τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης καλεομένης, φυλάσσονται ὦν μηδαμούς ἐσδέξασθαι τῶν προσοίκων Δωριέων ἐς τὸ Τριοπικὸν ἱρὸν· ἀλλὰ καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἀνομήσαντας ἐξεκλήϊσαν τῆς μετοχῆς. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι τοῦ Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλαϊ τρίποδας χαλκέους τοῖσι νικῶσι· καὶ τούτους χρῆν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθέναι τῷ θεῷ. ἀνὴρ ὦν Ἀλικαρνησεὺς, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Ἀγασικλῆς, νικήσας, τὸν νόμον κατηλόγησε· φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐωυτοῦ οἰκία προσεπασσάλευσε τὸν τρίποδα. διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην αἱ πέντε πόλιες, Δῖνδος, καὶ Ἰήλυσσός τε καὶ Κάμειρος, καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνίδος, ἐξεκλήϊσαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἕκτην πόλιν Ἀλικαρνησόν. τούτοισι μὲν νυν οὗτοι ταύτην τὴν ζή-
- 145 μίην ἐπέθηκαν. Δυνώδεκα δὲ μοι δοκέουσι πόλιας ποιήσασθαι οἱ Ἴωνες, καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλῃσαι πλεῦνας ἐσδέξασθαι, τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι καὶ ὅτε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἴκεον, δυνώδεκα ἦν αὐτῶν μέρεα· κατάπερ νῦν Ἀχαιῶν, τῶν ἐξελασάντων Ἴωνας, δυνώδεκά ἐστι μέρεα. Πελλήνη μὲν τε πρώτη πρὸς Σικυῶνος· μετὰ δὲ Αἴγαιρα, καὶ Αἰγαί· (ἐν τῇ Κρᾶθις ποταμὸς ἀένναός ἐστι, ἀπ' οὗτου ὁ ἐν Ἰταλίῃ ποταμὸς τὸ οὖνομα ἔσχε·) καὶ Βούρα, καὶ Ἑλίκη, (ἐς τὴν κατέφυγον Ἴωνες ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντες,) καὶ Αἴγιον, καὶ Ῥύπες, καὶ Πατρές, καὶ Φαρές, καὶ Ὠλενος, (ἐν τῷ Πείρῳ ποταμὸς μέγας ἐστί·) καὶ Δύμη,
- 146 καὶ Τριταιές, οἱ μούνοι τούτων μεσόγαιοι οἰκέουσι. Ταῦτα δυνώδεκα μέρεα νῦν Ἀχαιῶν ἐστὶ, καὶ τότε γε Ἰώνων

ἦν. τούτων δὴ εἵνεκα καὶ οἱ Ἴωνες δυνώδεκα πόλιας ἱποῖσαντο· ἐπεὶ, ὥς γε τι μᾶλλον οὗτοι Ἴωνές εἰσι γῶν ἄλλων Ἰόνων, ἢ κάλλιον τι γεγόνασι, μωρὴ πολλή λέγειν τῶν Ἀβαντες μὲν ἐξ Εὐβοίης εἰσὶ οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα, τοῖσι Ἰωνίης μέτα οὐδὲ τοῦ οὐνόματος οὐδέν· Μινύαι δὲ Ὀρχομένιοι ἀναμεμίσχεται, καὶ Καδμεῖοι, καὶ Δρύοπες, καὶ Φωκέες ἀποδάσμιοι, καὶ Μολοσσοί, καὶ Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοί, καὶ Δωριέες Ἐπιδαύριοι, ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ ἀναμεμίσχεται. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανηίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὀρμηθέντες, καὶ νομίζοντες γενναϊότατοι εἶναι Ἰόνων, οὗτοι δὲ οὐ γυναικάς ἡγάγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην, ἀλλὰ Καείρας ἔσχον, τῶν ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς γονέας. διὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν φόνον αἱ γυναῖκες αὐται, νόμον θέμεναι, σφίσι αὐτῇσι ὅρκους ἐπήλασαν, καὶ παρέδωκαν τῇσι θυγατράσι, μὴ κοτὲ ὁμοσιτῆσαι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι, μηδὲ οὐνόματι βῶσαι τὸν ἐωυτῆς ἄνδρα· τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι ἐφόνευσαν σφέων τοὺς πατέρας καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ παῖδας, καὶ ἔπειτεν, ταῦτα ποιήσαντες, αὐτῇσι συνοίκεον. ταῦτα δὲ ἦν γινόμενα ἐν Μιλήτῳ. Βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο, οἱ 147 μὲν αὐτῶν, Λυκίους, ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἱππολόχου γεγονότας· οἱ δὲ, Καύκωνας Πυλίου, ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου· οἱ δὲ, καὶ συναμφοτέρους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται τοῦ οὐνόματος μᾶλλον τι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰόνων, ἔστωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ καθαρῶς γεγονότες Ἴωνες· εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες Ἴωνες, ὅσοι ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν γεγόνασι, καὶ Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσι ὀρτὴν. ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες, πλὴν Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων· οὗτοι γὰρ μούνοι Ἰόνων οὐκ ἄγουσι Ἀπατούρια· καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ φόνον τινὰ σκήψιν. Τὸ δὲ 148 Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ τῆς Μυκάλης χώρας ἱρὸς πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένος, κοινῇ ἐξαραιρημένος ὑπὸ Ἰόνων Ποσειδέωνι Ἑλικωνίῳ ἢ δὲ Μυκάλῃ ἐστὶ τῆς ἠπείρου ἄκρῃ, πρὸς ξέφυρον ἄνεμον κατήκουσα Σάμῳ, ἐς τὴν συλληγόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων Ἴωνες, ἄγεσκον ὀρτὴν, τῇ ἔθεντο οὐνομα Πανιώνια. πεπόνθασι δὲ οὔτι μούναι αἱ Ἰόνων ὀρταὶ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλλήνων πάντων ὁμοίως πᾶσαι ἐς τῷτὸ γράμμα τελευτῶσι, κατὰπερ τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα.

Αὐται μὲν αἱ Ἰάδες πόλιές εἰσι. Αἶδε δὲ αἱ Αἰολίδες, 149

- Κύμη, ἡ Φρικωνὶς καλεομένη, Λήρισσαι, Νέον τεῖχος, Τήμνος, Κίλλα, Νότιον, Αἰγυρόεσσα, Πιτάνη, Αἰγαίαι, Μύρινα, Γρύνεια· αὗται ἑνδεκα Αἰολέων πόλεις αἱ ἀρχαῖαι. μία γάρ σφεων παρελύθη ὑπὸ Ἰώνων, Σμύρνη. ἦσαν γάρ καὶ αὗται δυνάδεκα αἱ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Αἰολεὲς χώρην μὲν ἔτυχον κτίσαντες ἀμείνω Ἰώνων, 150 ὥρέων δὲ ἤκουσαν οὐκ ὁμοίως. Σμύρνην δὲ ᾧδε ἀπέβαλον Αἰολεὲς. Κολοφωνίους ἀνδρας στάσι ἐσσωθέντας, καὶ ἐκπεσόντας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, ὑπεδέξαντο. μετὰ δὲ, οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κολοφωνίων φυλάξαντες τοὺς Σμυρναίους ὀρτὴν ἔξω τείχεος ποιευμένους Διονύσῳ, τὰς πύλας ἀποκλήϊσαντες, ἔσχον τὴν πόλιν. βοηθησάντων δὲ πάντων Αἰολέων, ὁμολογῇ ἐχρήσαντο, τὰ ἐπιπλα ἀποδόντων τῶν Ἰώνων, ἐκλιπεῖν Σμύρνην Αἰολέας. ποιησάντων δὲ ταῦτα Σμυρναίων, ἐπιδιείλοντό σφεας αἱ ἑνδεκα πόλεις, 151 καὶ ἐποίησαντο σφέων αὐτέων πολίητας. Αὗται μὲν νυν αἱ ἡπειρώτιδες Αἰολίδες πόλεις, ἔξω τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ οἰκημένων· κεχωρίδαται γὰρ αὗται. αἱ δὲ τὰς νήσους ἔχουσαι, πέντε μὲν πόλεις τὴν Λέσβον νέμονται· τὴν γὰρ ἔκτην ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ οἰκομένην Ἀρίσβαν ἡνδραπόδισαν Μηθυμναῖοι, εὐντας ὁμαίμους. ἐν Τενέδῳ δὲ μία οἰκέεται πόλις, καὶ ἐν τῇσι Ἑκατὸν Νήσοισι καλεομένησι. ἄλλη μία. Λεσβίοισι μὲν νυν καὶ Τενεδίοισι, κατὰπερ Ἰώνων τοῖσι τὰς νήσους ἔχουσι, ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν· τῇσι δὲ λοιπῇσι πόλεσι ἔαδε κοινῇ Ἰωσι ἔπεσθαι, τῇ ἂν οὗτοι ἐξηγέωνται.
- 152 Ὡς δὲ ἀπικέατο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην τῶν Ἰώνων καὶ Αἰολέων οἱ ἄγγελοι, (κατὰ γὰρ δὴ τάχος ἦν ταῦτα πρησόμενα,) εἶλοντο πρὸ πάντων λέγειν τὸν Φωκαέα, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Πύθερμος. ὁ δὲ, πορφύρεόν τε εἶμα περιβαλόμενος, ὥς ἂν πυνθανόμενοι πλεῖστοι συνέλθοιεν Σπαρτιητέων, καὶ καταστάς, ἔλεγε πολλὰ, τιμωρέειν ἐωυτοῖσι χρήζων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐ κως ἤκουον, ἀλλ' ἀπέδοξέ σφι μὴ τιμωρέειν Ἰωσι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσοντο· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀπωσάμενοι τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς ἀγγέλους, ὅμως ἀπέστειλαν πεντηκοντέρῳ ἀνδρας, ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέει, κατασκόπους τῶν τε Κύρου πρηγμάτων καὶ Ἰωνίης. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐς Φώκαιαν, ἔπεμπον ἐς Σάρδεις σφέων αὐτῶν τὸν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Λακρίνης,

ἀπερέοντα Κύρῳ Λακεδαιμονίων ῥῆσιν, “ γῆς τῆς Ἑλλάδος μηδεμίαν πόλιν σιναμωρέειν, ὥς αὐτῶν οὐ περιοφόμενων.” Ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ κήρυκος, λέγεται Κύρον 153 ἐπείρεσθαι τοὺς παρεόντας οἱ Ἑλλήνων “ τίνες ἐόντες “ ἄνθρωποι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ κόσιοι πλήθος, ταῦτα “ ἐωυτῷ προαγορεύουσιν.” πυνθανόμενον δέ μιν, εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν κήρυκα τὸν Σπαρτιήτην “ Οὐκ ἔδεισά κω ἄνδρας τοιούτους, τοῖσι ἐστὶ χώρος ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει “ ἀποδεδεγμένοι, ἐς τὸν συλλεγόμενοι ἀλλήλους ὁμοῦντες “ ἔξαπατώσι. τοῖσι, ἣν ἐγὼ ὑγιαίνω, οὐ τὰ Ἰώνων πάθεα “ ἔσται ἔλλεσχα, ἀλλὰ τὰ οἰκήϊα.” Ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς πάντας Ἑλλήνας ἀπέρριψε ὁ Κύρος τὰ ἔπεα, ὅτι ἀγορὰς κτησάμενοι ὦνῃ τε καὶ πρήσει χρέωνται. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀγορῇσι οὐδὲν ἐώθασιν χρῆσθαι, οὐδέ σφί ἐστι τὸ παράπαν ἀγορῇ. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέψας τὰς μὲν Σάρδεις Ταβάλῳ ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν, τὸν τε Κροῖσον καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων Λυδῶν, Πακτῆν ἀνδρὶ Λυδῷ κομίζεσθαι, ἀπήλαυσε αὐτὸς ἐς Ἀγβάτανα, Κροῖσόν τε ἅμα ἀγόμενος, καὶ τοὺς Ἰωνᾶς ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιησάμενος τὴν πρώτην εἶναι. ἥ τε γὰρ Βαβυλών οἱ ἦν ἐμπόδιος, καὶ τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος, καὶ Σάκαι τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, ἐπ’ οὓς ἐπεῖχε τε στρατηλατέειν αὐτὸς, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἰωνᾶς ἄλλον πέμπειν στρατηγόν.

Ὡς δὲ ἀπήλασε ὁ Κύρος ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἀπέστησε ὁ Πακτῆς ἀπὸ τε Ταβάλου καὶ Κύρον καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἅτε τὸν χρυσὸν ἔχων πάντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, ἐπικούρους τε ἐμισθοῦτο, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιθαλασσίους ἀνθρώπους ἐπειθε σὺν ἐωυτῷ στρατεύεσθαι. ἐλάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις ἐπολιόρκει Τάβαλον, ἀπεργμένον ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. Πυθόμενος δὲ κατ’ ὁδὸν 155 ταῦτα ὁ Κύρος, εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε. “ Κροῖσε, τί “ ἔσται τὸ τέλος τῶν γινομένων τούτων ἐμοί; οὐ παύσονται Λυδοὶ, ὥς οἴκασιν, πρήγματα παρέχοντες, καὶ “ αὐτοὶ ἔχοντες. φροντίζω, μὴ ἀριστον ἢ ἑξανδραποδίσασθαί σφεας. ὁμοίως γὰρ μοι νῦν γε φαίνομαι πεποιηκέναι, ὥς εἴ τις πατέρα ἀποκτεῖνας, τῶν παίδων “ αὐτοῦ φείσεται· ὥς δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ Λυδῶν τὸν μὲν πλεόν “ τι ἢ πατέρα ἐόντα σὲ λαβὼν ἄγω, αὐτοῖσι δὲ Λυδοῖσι

- “τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκα· καὶ ἔπειτα θωμάζω εἴ μοι ἀπε-
 “στᾶσι;” Ὁ μὲν δὴ τὰ περ νόεε, ἔλεγε· ὁ δ’ ἀμείβετο
 τοῖσδε, δείσας μὴ ἀναστάτους ποιήσῃ τὰς Σάρδεις· “ὦ
 “βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν οἰκότα εἴρηκας· σὺ μέντοι μὴ πάντα
 “θυμῷ χρέω, μηδὲ πόλιν ἀρχαίην ἐξαναστήσης, ἀναμάρ-
 “τητον εὐδυσαν καὶ τῶν πρότερον, καὶ τῶν νῦν ἐστεώτων.
 “τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἐγὼ τε ἔπραξα, καὶ ἐγὼ ἐμῇ
 “κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξας φέρω. τὰ δὲ νῦν παρεόντα, Πακτύης
 “γὰρ ἐστὶ ὁ ἀδικέων, τῷ σὺ ἐπέτρεψας Σάρδεις, οὗτος
 “δότης τοι δίκην. Λυδοῖσι δὲ συγγνώμην ἔχων, τάδε
 “αὐτοῖσι ἐπίταξον, ὥς μήτε ἀποστέωσι, μήτε δεινοί τοι
 “ἔωσι. ἅπειπε μὲν σφι πέμψας ὅπλα ἀρήϊα μὴ ἐκτῇ-
 “σθαι· κέλευε δὲ σφεας κιθώνας τε ὑποδύνειν τοῖσι εἴ-
 “μασι, καὶ κοθόρνους ὑποδέεσθαι· πρόειπε δ’ αὐτοῖσι
 “κιθαρίζειν τε καὶ ψάλλειν καὶ καπηλεύειν παιδεύειν
 “τοὺς παῖδας. καὶ ταχέως σφέας, ὦ βασιλεῦ, γυναικάς
 “ἀντ’ ἀνδρῶν ὄψαι γεγονότας, ὥστε οὐδὲν δεινοί τοι
 156 “ἔσονται μὴ ἀποστέωσι.” Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτά οἱ
 ὑπετίθετο, αἰρετώτερα ταῦτα εὕρισκων Λυδοῖσι, ἢ ἀνδρα-
 ποδισθέντας πρηθῆναι σφέας· ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι ἦν μὴ
 ἀξιόχρεων πρόφασιν προτείνειν, οὐκ ἀναπαύσει μιν μετα-
 βουλεύσασθαι· ἀρρωδέων δὲ, μὴ καὶ ὕστερόν κοτε οἱ
 Λυδοὶ, ἦν τὸ παρεὸν ὑπεκδράμωσι, ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ τῶν
 Περσέων ἀπόλονται. Κῦρος δὲ ἡσθεὶς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ, καὶ
 ὑπεὶς τῆς ὀργῆς, ἔφη οἱ πείθεσθαι. καλέσας δὲ Μαζάρεα
 ἄνδρα Μῆδον, ταῦτά οἱ ἐνετείλατο προειπεῖν Λυδοῖσι, τὰ
 ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπετίθετο· καὶ πρὸς, ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τοὺς
 ἄλλους πάντας, οἱ μετὰ Λυδῶν ἐπὶ Σάρδεις ἐστρατεύ-
 σαντο, αὐτὸν δὲ Πακτύην πάντως ζῶντα ἀγαγεῖν παρ’
 ἑωυτόν.
- 157 Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐντειλάμενος, ἀπήλυνε
 ἐς ἡθεα τὰ Περσέων. Πακτύης δὲ πυθόμενος ἀγχού εἶναι
 στρατὸν ἐπ’ ἑωυτὸν ἰόντα, δείσας ὥχετο φεύγων ἐς Κύμην.
 Μαζάρης δὲ ὁ Μῆδος ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις, τοῦ Κύρου
 στρατοῦ μοῖραν ὀσηνδῆκοτε ἔχων, ὥς οὐκ εὖρε ἔτι ἔοντας
 τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πακτύην ἐν Σάρδισι, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς Λυδοὺς
 ἠνάγκασε τὰς Κύρου ἐντολὰς ἐπιτελέειν· ἐκ τούτου δὲ
 κελυσοσύνης Λυδοὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δίαυταν τῆς ζῆς μετέ-

βαλον. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔπεμπε ἐς τὴν Κύμην ἀγγέλους, ἐκδιδόναι κελεύων Πακτύνῃ· οἱ δὲ Κυμαῖοι ἔγνωσαν, συμβουλῆς πέρι ἐς θεὸν ἀνῶσαι τὸν ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι. ἦν γὰρ αὐτόθι μαντήϊον ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἰδρυμένον, τῷ Ἰωνέσ τε πάντες καὶ Αἰολέες ἐώθεσαν χρεέσθαι. ὁ δὲ χάρος οὗτος ἐστὶ τῆς Μιλησίης ὑπὲρ Πανόρμου λιμένος. Πέμπσαντες ὦν οἱ Κυμαῖοι ἐς τοὺς Βραγχίδας θεοπρόπους, 158 εἰρώτευν “περὶ Πακτύνῃ ὁκοῖόν τι ποιέοντες θεοῖσι μέλλοιεν χαριεῖσθαι.” ἐπειρωτῶσι δὲ σφί ταῦτα χρηστήριον ἐγένετο “ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύνῃ Πέρσησι.” Ταῦτα δὲ ὥς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, ὀρμέατο ἐκδιδόναι. ὀρμεωμένου δὲ ταύτῃ τοῦ πλήθους, Ἀριστόδικος ὁ Ἡρακλείδῃ, ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν ἐὼν δόκιμος, ἔσχε μὴ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα Κυμαίους, ἀπιστέων τε τῷ χρησμῷ, καὶ δοκέων τοὺς θεοπρόπους οὐ λέγειν ἀληθῆως· ἐς δὲ, τὸ δεύτερον περὶ Πακτύῃ ἐπειρησόμενοι, ἦσαν ἄλλοι θεοπρόποι, τῶν καὶ Ἀριστόδικος ἦν. Ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς Βραγχίδας, 159 ἐχρηστηριάζετο ἐκ πάντων Ἀριστόδικος, ἐπειρωτέων τὰδε· “ὦ νᾶξ, ἦλθε παρ’ ἡμέας ἰκέτης Πακτύης ὁ Λυδὸς, φεύγων θάνατον βίαιον πρὸς Περσέων· οἱ δὲ μιν ἐξαίτεονται, προεῖναι Κυμαίους κελεύοντες· ἡμεῖς δὲ δειμαίνοντες τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν, τὸν ἰκέτην ἐς τὸδε οὐ τετολμήκαμεν ἐκδιδόναι, πρὶν ἂν τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ ἡμῖν δηλωθῇ ἀτρεκέως ὁκότερα ποιέωμεν.” Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα· ὁ δ’ αὖτις τὸν αὐτὸν σφί χρησμὸν ἔφαινε, κελεύων ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύνῃ Πέρσησι. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀριστόδικος ἐκ προνοίης ἐποίηε τὰδε· περιῶν τὸν νηὸν κύκλῳ, ἐξαίρει τοὺς στρουθοὺς, καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἦν νεοοσσευμένα ὀρνίθων γένεα ἐν τῷ νηῷ. ποιέοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα, λέγεται φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, φέρουσιν μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόδικον, λέγουσιν δὲ τὰδε· “Ἀνοσιώτατε ἀνθρώπων, τί τὰδε τολμᾷς ποιεῖν; τοὺς ἰκέτας μου ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ κεραῖζεις;” Ἀριστόδικον δὲ, οὐκ ἀπορήσαντα, πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν “ὦ νᾶξ, αὐτὸς μὲν οὕτω τοῖσι ἰκέτησι βοηθῆεις· Κυμαίους δὲ κελεύεις τὸν ἰκέτην ἐκδιδόναι;” Τὸν δὲ αὖτις ἀμείψασθαι τοῖσδε. “Ναὶ κελεύω, ἵνα γε ἀσεβήσαντες θάσσου ἀπόλῃσθε· ὥς μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν περὶ ἰκετέων ἐκδόσιος ἔλθῃτε ἐπὶ τὸ

- 160 “*χρηστήριον*.” Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, οὐ βουλόμενοι οὔτε ἐκδόντες ἀπολέσθαι, οὔτε παρ’ ἐωυτοῖσι ἔχοντες πολιορκέεσθαι, ἐς Μυτιλήνην αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπουσι. οἱ δὲ Μυτιληναῖοι, ἐπιπέμποντος τοῦ Μαζάρεος ἀγγελίας ἐκδιδόναι τὸν Πακτύνην, παρεσκευάζοντο ἐπὶ μισθῷ ὅσῳ δὴ· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω τοῦτό γε εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως· οὐ γὰρ ἐτέλεώθη. Κυμαῖοι γὰρ, ὡς ἔμαθον ταῦτα πρησιζόμενα ἐκ τῶν Μυτιληναίων, πέμψαντες πλοῖον ἐς Λέσβον, ἐκκομίζουσι Πακτύνην ἐς Χίον. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ, ἐξ ἱροῦ Ἀθηναίης Πολιούχου ἀποσπασθεὶς ὑπὸ Χίων, ἐξέδοθη· ἐξέδοσαν δὲ οἱ Χῖοι ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀταρνεί μισθῷ· τοῦ δὲ Ἀταρνέος τούτου ἐστὶ χώρος τῆς Μυσίης, Λέσβου ἀντίος. Πακτύνην μὲν νυν παραδεξάμενοι οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, θέλοντες Κύρῳ ἀποδέξαι. ἦν δὲ χρόνος οὗτος οὐκ ὀλίγος γενόμενος, ὅτε Χίων οὐδεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος τούτου οὔτε οὐλὰς κριθῶν πρόχυσιν ἐποίεετο θεῶν οὐδενί, οὔτε πέμματα ἐπέσσετο καρποῦ τοῦ ἐνθεῦτεν, ἀπείχετό τε τῶν πάντων ἱρῶν τὰ πάντα ἐκ τῆς χώρας ταύτης γινόμενα.
- 161 Χῖοι μὲν νυν Πακτύνην ἐξέδοσαν. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπολιορκήσαντας Τάβαλον. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, Πριηνέας ἐξηνδραποδίσατο· τοῦτο δὲ, Μαιάνδρου πεδίον πᾶν ἐπέδραμε, ληΐην ποιεύμενος τῷ στρατῷ· Μαγνησίην δὲ ὥσαύτως. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτίκα
- 162 νοῦσῳ τελευτᾷ. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου, Ἀρπαγος κατέβη διάδοχος τῆς στρατηγίης, γένος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μῆδος, τὸν ὁ Μῆδων βασιλεὺς Ἀστυάγης ἀνόμῳ τραπέζῃ ἔδαισε, ὁ τῷ Κύρῳ τὴν βασιληΐην συγκατεργασάμενος. οὗτος ὡς ὕηρ τότε ὑπὸ Κύρου στρατηγὸς ἀποδεχθεὶς, ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, αἶρεε τὰς πόλιας χώμασι· ὅπως γὰρ τειχίρεας ποιήσειε, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν χώματα χῶν πρὸς τὰ τείχεα ἐπόρθεε. πρώτη δὲ Φωκαίῃ Ἰωνίης ἐπεχείρησε.
- 163 Οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες οὗτοι ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῇσι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο· καὶ τὸν τε Ἀδρίην καὶ τὴν Τυρσηνίην καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίην καὶ τὸν Ταρτησσὸν οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαντες. ἐναυτίλλοντο δὲ οὐ στρογγύλῃσι νηυσὶ, ἀλλὰ πεντηκοντέροισι. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ταρτησσὸν,

προσφιλέες ἐγένοντο τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ταρτησίων, τῷ οὐνομα μὲν ἦν Ἀργανθώνιος· ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ ὀγδώκοντα ἔτεα, ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσφιλέες οἱ Φωκαῖές οὕτω δὴ τι ἐγένοντο, ὥς τὰ μὲν πρῶτά σφεας ἐκλιπόντας Ἰωνὴν ἐκέλευε τῆς ἐωυτοῦ χώρας οἰκῆσαι ὅκου βούλονται· μετὰ δὲ, ὥς τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἔπειθε τοὺς Φωκαῖας, ὁ δὲ πυθόμενος τὸν Μῆδον παρ' αὐτῶν ὥς αὔξοιτο, ἐδίδου σφι χρήματα τεῖχος περιβαλέσθαι τὴν πόλιν. ἐδίδου δὲ ἀφειδέως· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ περίοδος τοῦ τεύχεος οὐκ ὀλίγοι στάδιοι εἰσι· τοῦτο δὲ πᾶν λίθων μεγάλων καὶ εὖ συναρμοσμένων. Τὸ μὲν δὴ τεῖχός τοῖσι Φωκαῖέσι τρόπῳ 164 τοιῷδε ἐξεποιήθη. ὁ δὲ Ἀρπαγος ὡς ἐπήλασε τὴν στρατιὴν, ἐπολιόρκει αὐτοὺς, προῖσχύμενος ἔπεα “ὥς οἱ κατα-
“χρᾶ, εἰ βούλονται Φωκαῖές προμαχεῶνα ἓνα μόνον
“τοῦ τεύχεος ἐρεῖψαι, καὶ οἴκημα ἐν κατιρῶσαι.” οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖές, περιημεκτέοντες τῇ δουλοσύνῃ, ἔφασαν “θέ-
“λειν βουλευσασθαι ἡμέρην μίαν, καὶ ἔπειτα ὑποκρι-
“νέεσθαι. ἐν ᾧ δὲ βουλεύονται αὐτοὶ, ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκείνους
“ἐκέλευον τὴν στρατιὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τεύχεος.” Ὁ δ' Ἀρ-
παγος ἔφη “εἰδέναι μὲν εὖ τὰ ἐκείνοι μέλλοιεν ποιέειν,
“ὅμως δὲ σφι παρίεναι βουλευσασθαι.” Ἐν ᾧ ὦν ὁ
“Ἀρπαγος ἀπὸ τοῦ τεύχεος ἀπήγαγε τὴν στρατιὴν, οἱ
Φωκαῖές ἐν τούτῳ κατασπάσαντες τὰς πεντηκοντέρας,
ἐσθήμενοι τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἐπιπλα πάντα, πρὸς δὲ
καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱρῶν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀναθή-
ματα, χωρὶς ὅ τι χαλκὸς ἢ λίθος ἢ γραφή ἦν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα
πάντα ἐσθύντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσβάντες, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Χίου.
τὴν δὲ Φωκαίην ἐρημωθείσαν ἀνδρῶν ἔσχον οἱ Πέρσαι.
Οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖές, ἐπεὶ τε σφι Χίοι τὰς νήσους τὰς Οἰ- 165
νούσσας καλεομένας οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ὠνεομένοισι πωλέειν,
δαιμαίνοντες μὴ αἱ μὲν ἐμπόριον γένωνται, ἡ δὲ αὐτῶν
νῆσος ἀποκληῖσθῃ τούτου εἵνεκα, πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Φωκαῖές
ἐστέλλοντο ἐς Κύρνον· (ἐν γὰρ τῇ Κύρῳ εἴκοσι ἔτεσι
πρότερον τούτων ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἀνεστήσαντο πόλιν, τῇ
οὐνομα ἦν Ἀλαλή· Ἀργανθώνιος δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἤδη τετε-
λευτήκει·) στελλόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον, πρῶτα κατα-
πλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην, κατεφόνευσαν τῶν Περσέων

- τὴν φυλακὴν, ἣ ἐφρούρει παραδεξαμένη παρὰ Ἀρπάγου τὴν πόλιν. μετὰ δέ, ὡς τοῦτό σφι ἐξέργαστο, ἐποίησαντο ἰσχυράς κατὰρας τῷ ὑπολειπομένῳ ἐωτῶν τοῦ στόλου. πρὸς δὲ ταῦτησι, καὶ μύδρον σιδήρεον κατεπόντωσαν, καὶ ὤμοσαν “μὴ πρὶν ἐς Φωκαίην ἥξειν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν μύδρον “τοῦτον ἀναφῆναι.” Στελλομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον, ὑπὲρ ἡμίσεας τῶν ἀστῶν ἔλαβε πόθος τε καὶ οἶκτος τῆς πόλιος καὶ τῶν ἡθέων τῆς χώρας· ψευδόρκοι δὲ γενόμενοι, ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ ὄρκιον ἐφύλασσαν, ἀερθέντες ἐκ τῶν Οἰνουσ-
166 σέων ἔπλεον. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐς τὴν Κύρνον ἀπίκοντο, οἴ-
κεον κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν πρότερον ἀπικομένων ἐπ’ ἕτεα πέντε, καὶ ἱρὰ ἐνιδρύσαντο. καὶ ἄγον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔφερον τοὺς περιοίκους ἅπαντας, στρατεύονται ὧν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς κοινῶ λόγω χρησάμενοι Τυρσηνοὶ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι, νησιῶν ἑκά-
τεροι ἐξήκοντα. οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες πληρώσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πλοῖα, ἔοντα ἀριθμὸν ἐξήκοντα, ἀντίαζον ἐς τὸ Σαρ-
δόνιον καλούμενον πέλαγος. συμμαχούντων δὲ τῇ ναυ-
μαχίᾳ, Καδμείῃ τις νίκη τοῖσι Φωκαεῦσι ἐγένετο. αἱ μὲν γὰρ τεσσεράκοντά σφι νῆες διεφθάρησαν. αἱ δὲ εἴκοσι αἱ περιεῶσαι, ἦσαν ἄχρηστοι· ἀπεστράφατο γὰρ τοὺς ἐμβόλους. καταπλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀλαλίνην, ἀν-
έλαβον τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κτήσιν ὅσῃν οἶαί τε ἐγίνοντο αἱ νῆες σφι ἄγειν· καὶ ἔπειτα
167 ἀφέντες τὴν Κύρνον ἔπλεον ἐς Ῥήγιον. Τῶν δὲ δια-
φθαρεισέων νεῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἳ τε Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ ἔλαχον τε αὐτῶν πολλῶ πλείους, καὶ τούτους ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν. μετὰ δὲ Ἀγυλλαίοισι πάντα τὰ παριόντα τὸν χώρον, ἐν τῷ οἱ Φωκαῖες καταλευ-
σθέντες ἐκέατο, ἐγένετο διάστροφα καὶ ἔμπηρα καὶ ἀπό-
πληκτα, ὁμοίως πρόβατα καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἄνθρωποι. οἱ δὲ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἐς Δελφούς ἔπεμπον, βουλόμενοι ἀκέσασ-
θαι τὴν ἀμαρτάδα. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευσε ποιέειν τὰ καὶ νῦν οἱ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἔτι ἐπιτελέουσιν· καὶ γὰρ ἐναγί-
ζουσὶ σφι μεγάλως, καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικὸν ἐπιστᾶσι. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τῶν Φωκαέων τοιοῦτῳ μὶρῳ διεχρήσαντο. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον καταφυγόντες, ἐνθεῦτεν ὀρμεώμενοι, ἐκτήσαντο πόλιν γῆς τῆς Οἰνωτρῆς

ταύτην, ἣτις νῦν Ἑλέη καλέεται. ἔκτισαν δὲ ταύτην, πρὸς ἀνδρὸς Ποσειδωνιήτεω μαθόντες, ὡς τὸν Κύρνον σφι ἡ Πυθίη ἔχρησε κτίσαι ἥρων ἑόντα, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν νήσων.

Φωκαίης μὲν νυν πέρι τῆς ἐν Ἰωνίῃ οὕτως ἔσχε. Παραπλήσια δὲ τούτοισι καὶ Τηϊοὶ ἐποίησαν. ἐπεὶ τε 168 γάρ σφεν εἶλε χῶματι τὸ τεῖχος Ἀρπαγος, ἐσβάντες πάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα, οἴχοντο πλέοντες ἐπὶ τῆς Θρηϊκίης, καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἔκτισαν πόλιν Ἀβδηρα, τὴν πρότερος τούτων Κλαζομένιος Τιμήσιος κτίσας, οὐκ ἀπώνητο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Θρηϊκῶν ἐξελασθεὶς τιμὰς νῦν ὑπὸ Τηϊῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀβδήροισι ὡς ἥρως ἔχει.

Οὗτοι μὲν νυν Ἰῶνων μῦνοι, τὴν δουλοσύνην οὐκ 169 ἀνεχόμενοι, ἐξέλιπον τὰς πατρίδας. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἴωνες, πλὴν Μιλησίων, διὰ μάχης μὲν ἀπικέατο Ἀρπάγω, κατὰπερ οἱ ἐκλιπόντες, καὶ ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ, περὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ἑκαστος μαχόμενοι· ἐσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ ἀλόντες, ἔμενον κατὰ χώραν ἑκαστοὶ, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον. Μιλησίοι δὲ, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, αὐτῷ Κύρῳ ὄρκιον ποιησάμενοι, ἡσυχίην ἄγον. Οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίῃ ἐδεδούλωτο. ὡς δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Ἴωνας ἐχειρώσατο Ἀρπαγος, οἱ τὰς νήσους ἔχοντες Ἴωνες, καταρρωδήσαντες ταῦτα, σφέας αὐτοὺς ἔδοσαν Κύρῳ.

Κεκακωμένων δὲ Ἰῶνων, καὶ συλληγομένων οὐδὲν 170 ἦσσαν ἐς τὸ Πανιώνιον, πυνθάνομαι γνώμην Βίαντα ἄνδρα Πριηνέα ἀποδέξασθαι Ἴωσι χρησιμωτάτην τῇ εἰ ἐπείθοντο, παρεῖχε ἂν σφι εὐδαιμονέειν Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα· ὃς ἐκέλευε “κοινῷ στόλῳ Ἴωνας ἀερθέντας πλέειν “ἐς Σαρδῶ, καὶ ἔπειτα πόλιν μίαν κτίξειν πάντων Ἰῶ-
“νων. καὶ οὕτω ἀπαλλαχθέντας σφέας δουλοσύνης εὐ-
“δαιμονήσειν, νήσων τε ἀπασέων μεγίστην νεμομένους,
“καὶ ἄρχοντας ἄλλων μένουσι δὲ σφι ἐν τῇ Ἰωνίῃ οὐκ
“ἔφη ἐνορᾶν ἐλευθερίην ἔτι ἐσομένην.” Αὕτη μὲν Βίαν-
τος τοῦ Πριηνέος γνώμη, ἐπὶ διεφθαρμένοισι Ἴωσι γενο-
μένη. χρηστὴ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ διαφθαρῆναι Ἰωνίην Θάλεω
ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου ἐγένετο, τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γένος ἑόντος Φοί-
νικος· ὃς ἐκέλευε ἐν βουλευτήριον Ἴωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ

εἶναι ἐν Τέῳ· Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἶναι Ἰωνίης. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλιας οἰκεομένας μηδὲν ἥσσον νομίζεσθαι κατὰ-περ εἰ δῆμοι εἶεν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ σφι γνώμας τοιάσδε ἀπεδέξαντο.

- 171 Ἄρπαγος δὲ καταστρεψάμενος Ἰωνίην, ἐποίεετο στρα-
τηίην ἐπὶ Κᾶρας καὶ Καυνίους καὶ Λυκίους, ἅμα ἀγό-
μενος καὶ Ἰωνας καὶ Αἰολέας. Εἰσὶ δὲ τούτων Κᾶρες
μὲν ἀπυγμένοι ἐς τὴν ἥπειρον ἐκ τῶν νήσων. τὸ γὰρ
παλαιὸν ἔοντες Μίνω τε κατήκοοι, καὶ καλεόμενοι Λέ-
λεγες, εἶχον τὰς νήσους, φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ὑποτελέοντες,
ὅσον καὶ ἐγὼ δυνατός εἰμι μακρότατον ἐξικέσθαι ἀκοῇ·
οἱ δὲ, ὅπως Μίνως δέοιτο, ἐπλήρουν οἱ τὰς νέας. ἅτε δὲ
δὴ Μίνω τε κατεστραμμένου γῆν πολλήν, καὶ εὐτυχέον-
τος τῷ πολέμῳ, τὸ Καρικὸν ἦν ἔθνος λογιμώτατον τῶν
ἐθνέων ἀπάντων κατὰ τοῦτον ἅμα τὸν χρόνον μακρῷ
μάλιστα. καὶ σφι τριζὰ ἐξευρήματα ἐγένετο, τοῖσι οἱ
Ἕλληνες ἐχρήσαντο. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κράνεα λόφους ἐπι-
δέεσθαι Κᾶρες εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαντες, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας
τὰ σημεῖα ποιεέσθαι. καὶ ὄχανα ἀσπίσι οὗτοι εἰσι οἱ
ποιησάμενοι πρῶτοι· τέως δὲ ἄνευ ὀχάνων ἐφόρεον τὰς
ἀσπίδας πάντες οὔπερ ἐώθεσαν ἀσπίσι χρέεσθαι, τελα-
μῶσι σκυτίνοισι οὐγκίζοντες, περὶ τοῖσι αὐχέσι τε καὶ
τοῖσι ἀριστεροῖσι ὤμοισι περικείμενοι. Μετὰ δὲ, τοὺς
Κᾶρας χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῷ Δωριέες τε καὶ Ἴωνες
ἐξανέστησαν ἐκ τῶν νήσων· καὶ οὕτω ἐς τὴν ἥπειρον
ἀπίκοντο. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Κᾶρας οὕτω Κρήτες λέγουσι
γενέσθαι. οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε ὁμολογέουσι τούτοις οἱ
Κᾶρες· ἀλλὰ νομίζουσι αὐτοὶ ἐωυτοὺς εἶναι αὐτόχθονας
ἡπειρώτας, καὶ τῷ οὐνόματι τῷ αὐτῷ αἰὶ διαχρεωμένους
τῷπερ νῦν. ἀποδεικνύσι δὲ ἐν Μυλάσοισι Διὸς Καρίου
ἱρὸν ἀρχαῖον, τοῦ Μυσοῖσι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι μέτεστι, ὡς
κασυγνήτοισι ἐοῦσι τοῖσι Καρσί. τὸν γὰρ Λυδὸν καὶ τὸν
Μυσὸν λέγουσι εἶναι Καρὸς ἀδελφεοῦς. τούτοις μὲν
δὴ μέτεστι· ὅσοι δὲ, ἔοντες ἄλλου ἔθνεος, ὁμόγλωσσοι
- 172 τοῖσι Καρσί ἐγένοντο, τούτοις δὲ οὐ μέτα. Οἱ δὲ
Καύνιοι αὐτόχθονες, δοκέειν ἐμοί, εἰσὶ αὐτοὶ μέντοι ἐκ
Κρήτης φασὶ εἶναι. προσκεχωρήκασι δὲ γλῶσσαν μὲν
πρὸς τὸ Καρικὸν ἔθνος, ἣ οἱ Κᾶρες πρὸς τὸ Καυνικόν·

τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρίναι. νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται κεχωρισμένοισι πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ Καρῶν. τοῖσι γὰρ κάλλιστόν ἐστι κατ' ἡλικίην τε καὶ φιλότῃτα εἰλαδὸν συγγίνεσθαι ἐς πόσιν, καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶ. ἰδρυθέντων δὲ σφί ἱρῶν ξεινικῶν, μετέπειτα ὥς σφί ἀπέδοξε, (ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖσι πατρίοισι μόνον χρᾶσθαι θεοῖσι,) ἐνδύντες τὰ ὅπλα ἅπαντες Καύνιοι ἡβηδόν, τύπτοντες δούρασι τὸν ἥερα, μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Καλυνδικῶν ἔποντο, καὶ ἔφασαν ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς ξεινικούς θεούς. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τρόποισι τοιούτοισι χρέωνται. Οἱ δὲ Λύκιοι ἐκ Κρήτης τῶρχαῖον γεγόνασι. τὴν γὰρ 173 Κρήτην εἶχον τὸ παλαιὸν πᾶσαν βάρβαροι. διενειχθέντων δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ περὶ τῆς βασιληΐης τῶν Εὐρώπης παίδων, Σαρπηδόνος τε καὶ Μίνω, ὥς ἐπεκράτησε τῇ στάσει Μίνως, ἐξήλασε αὐτόν τε Σαρπηδόνα καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ ἀπωσθέντες, ἀπίκοντο τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς γῆν τὴν Μιλυάδα· τὴν γὰρ νῦν Λύκιοι νέμονται, αὕτη τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Μιλύας· οἱ δὲ Μιλύαι τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν Σαρπηδῶν ἦρχε· οἱ δὲ ἐκαλέοντο, τό περ τε ἡνείκαντο οὖνομα, καὶ νῦν ἔτι καλέονται ὑπὸ τῶν περιόικων οἱ Λύκιοι, Τερμίλαι. ὥς δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Λύκος ὁ Πανδίωνος, ἐξελαθεὶς καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ Αἰγέως, ἀπίκητο ἐς τοὺς Τερμίλας παρὰ Σαρπηδόνα, οὕτω δὴ κατὰ τοῦ Λύκου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην Λύκιοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκλήθησαν. νόμοισι δὲ, τὰ μὲν Κρητικοῖσι τὰ δὲ Καρικοῖσι χρέωνται. ἐν δὲ τόδε ἴδιον νενομίκασι, καὶ οὐδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι συμφέρονται ἀνθρώπων· καλέουσι ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων ἐωυτοὺς, καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων. εἰρομένου δὲ ἐτέρου τὸν πλησίον, τίς εἴη, καταλέξει ἐωυτὸν μητρόθεν, καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνανεμέεται τὰς μητέρας. καὶ ἦν μὲν γε γυνὴ ἀστὴ δούλῳ συνοικήσῃ, γενναῖα τὰ τέκνα νερόμισται· ἦν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀστός, καὶ ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν, γυναικα ξεινὴν ἢ παλλακὴν ἔχῃ, ἄτιμα τὰ τέκνα γίνεταί.

Οἱ μὲν νυν Κᾶρες οὐδὲν λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἀποδεξάμενοι, 174 ἐδουλώθησαν ὑπὸ Ἀρπάγον· οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Κᾶρες ἀποδεξάμενοι οὐδὲν, οὔτε ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων ταύτην τὴν χώραν οἰκέουσι. οἰκέουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποικοὶ Κνίδιοι, τῆς χώρας τῆς σφετέρης τετραμμένης ἐς

πόντον, τὸ δὴ Τριόπιον καλέεται, ἀργμένης δὲ ἐκ τῆς χερσονήσου τῆς Βυβασσίνης, εὐούσης τε πάσης τῆς Κνιδίης, πλὴν ὀλίγης, περιρρέου· (τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς βορῇν ἄνεμον ὁ Κεραμεικὸς κόλπος ἀπέργει· τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον, ἢ κατὰ Σύμην τε καὶ Ῥόδον θάλασσα) τὸ ὦν δὴ ὀλίγον τοῦτο, ἐὼν ὅσον τε ἐπὶ πέντε στάδια, ὥρυσσον οἱ Κνίδιοι, ἐν ὧσ' Ἀρπαγὸς τὴν Ἰωνίην κατεστρέφετο, βουλόμενοι νῆσον τὴν χώραν ποιῆσαι. ἐντὸς δὲ πᾶσά σφι ἐγένετο· τῇ γὰρ ἡ Κνιδίη χώρα ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον τελευτᾷ, ταύτῃ ὁ ἰσθμὸς ἐστὶ τὸν ὥρυσσον· καὶ δὴ πολλῇ χειρὶ ἐργαζομένων τῶν Κνιδίων, μᾶλλον γάρ τι καὶ θεióτερον ἐφαίνοντο τιτρώσκεσθαι οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τοῦ οἰκότος τὰ τε ἄλλα τοῦ σώματος καὶ μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς θραυνομένης τῆς πέτρης, ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους ἐπερησομένους τὸ ἀντίξουν. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κνίδιοι λέγουσι, χρᾶ ἐν τριμέτρῳ τόνῳ τάδε·

Ἴσθμὸν δὲ μὴ πυργοῦτε, μήδ' ὀρύσσετε·

Ζεὺς γάρ κ' ἔθηκε νῆσον, εἴ κ' ἐβούλετο.

Κνίδιοι μὲν, ταῦτα τῆς Πυθίης χρησάσης, τοῦ τε ὀρύγματος ἐπαύσαντο· καὶ Ἀρπάγῳ, ἐπιόντι σὺν τῷ στρατῷ,
 175 ἀμαχητὶ σφεας αὐτοὺς παρέδωκαν. Ἦσαν δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκοῦντες ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ μεσόγαιαν· τοῖσι ὅκως τι μέλλοι ἀνεπιτήδεον ἔσεσθαι, αὐτοῖσί τε καὶ τοῖσι περιόικοις, ἢ ἱερείῃ τῆς Ἀθηναίης πώγωνα μέγαν ἴσχει. τρίς σφι τοῦτο ἐγένετο. οὗτοι τῶν περὶ Καρίην ἀνδρῶν μῦνοι τε ἀντέσχον χρόνον Ἀρπάγῳ, καὶ πρήγματα παρέσχον πλείστα, ὅρος τειχίσαντες, τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Λίδη.

176 Πηδασέες μὲν νυν χρόνῳ ἐξαιρέθησαν. Λύκιοι δὲ, ὡς ἐς τὸ Ξάνθιον πεδῖον ἤλασε ὁ Ἀρπαγὸς τὸν στρατὸν, ὑπεξιόντες, καὶ μαχόμενοι ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς, ἀρετὰς ἀπεδείκνυντο· ἐσωθέντες δὲ, καὶ κατειληθέντες ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, συνήλυσαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὰς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας· καὶ ἔπειτα ὑπῆψαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πᾶσαν ταύτην καίεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες καὶ συνομόσαντες ὅρκους δεινοὺς, ὑπεξεληθόντες ἀπέθανον πάντες Ξανθιοὶ μαχόμενοι. τῶν δὲ νῦν Λυκίων φαμένων Ξανθίων εἶναι, οἱ πολλοὶ, πλὴν ὀγδώκοντα ἰστιάων, εἰσὶ ἐπήλυδες· αἱ δὲ ὀγδώκοντα ἰστίαι

αὐται ἔτυχον τηνικαῦτα ἐκδημέουσai, καὶ οὕτω περιεγέ-
νοντο. τὴν μὲν δὴ Ξάνθον οὕτως ἔσχε ὁ Ἀρπαγος.
παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὴν Καῦνον ἔσχε. καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καύ-
νιοι τοὺς Λυκίους ἐμιμήσαντο τὰ πλέω.

Τὰ μὲν νυν κάτω τῆς Ἀσίης Ἀρπαγος ἀνάστατα 177
ἐποίεε· τὰ δὲ ἄνω αὐτῆς, αὐτὸς Κῦρος, πᾶν ἔθνος κατα-
στρεφόμενος, καὶ οὐδὲν παριείς. τὰ μὲν νυν αὐτῶν πλέω
παρήσομεν· τὰ δὲ οἱ παρέσχε πόνον τε πλείστον, καὶ
ἀξιαπηγητότατά ἐστι, τούτων ἐπιμνήσομαι.

Κῦρος ἐπεὶ τε τὰ πάντα τῆς ἡπείρου ὑποχείρια ἐποίη- 178
σατο, Ἀσσυρίοισι ἐπετίθετο. Τῆς δὲ Ἀσσυρίας ἐστὶ τὰ
μὲν κον καὶ ἄλλα πολίσματα μεγάλα πολλὰ· τὸ δὲ ὀνο-
μαστότατον καὶ ἰσχυρότατον, καὶ ἔνθα σφι, Νίνου ἀνα-
στάτου γενομένης, τὰ βασιλήϊα κατεστήκεε, ἣν Βαβυλῶν
εἶουσα τοιαύτη δὴ τις. πόλις κέεται ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ,
μέγαθος εἶουσα μέτῳπον ἑκαστον εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν στα-
δίῳ, εἰούσης τετραγώνου· οὗτοι στάδιοι τῆς περιόδου τῆς
πόλιος γίνονται συνάπαντες ὀγδώκοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι.
τὸ μὲν νυν μέγαθος τοσοῦτόν ἐστι τοῦ ἄστεος τοῦ Βαβυ-
λωνίου. ἐκεκόσμητο δὲ ὥς οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα τῶν
ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. τάφρος μὲν πρῶτά μιν βαθέα τε καὶ εὐρέα
καὶ πλεῆ ὕδατος περιθέει· μετὰ δὲ, τείχος πεντήκοντα
μὲν πηχέων βασιλῆϊων ἐὼν τὸ εὖρος, ὕψος δὲ, διηκοσίῳ
πηχέων. ὁ δὲ βασιλῆϊος πῆχυς τοῦ μετρίου ἐστὶ πῆχεος
μέζων τρισὶ δακτύλοισι. Δεῖ δὴ με πρὸς τούτοις 179
φράσαι, ἵνα τε ἐκ τῆς τάφρου ἢ γῆ ἀναισιμώθῃ, καὶ τὸ
τείχος ὅντινα τρόπον ἔργαστο. ὀρύσσοντες ἅμα τὴν τά-
φρον, ἐπλύνθουν τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἐκφερο-
μένην· ἐλκύσαντες δὲ πλύνθους ἱκανὰς, ὥπτησαν αὐτὰς
ἐν καμίνοισι· μετὰ δὲ, τέλματι χρεώμενοι ἀσφάλτῳ
θερμῇ, καὶ διὰ τριήκοντα δόμων πλύνθου ταρσοὺς καλὰ-
μων διαστοιβάζοντες, ἔδειμαν πρῶτα μὲν τῆς τάφρου τὰ
χείlea· δεύτερα δὲ, αὐτὸ τὸ τείχος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον.
ἐπάνω δὲ τοῦ τείχεος παρὰ τὰ ἔσχατα, οἰκήματα μουνό-
κωλα ἔδειμαν, τετραμμένα ἐς ἄλληλα· τὸ μέσον δὲ τῶν
οἰκημάτων ἔλιπον τεθρίπῳ περιέλασιν. πύλαι δὲ ἐνε-
σταῖσι πέριξ τοῦ τείχεος ἑκατὸν, χάλκεαι πᾶσαι· καὶ
σταθμοὶ τε καὶ ὑπέρθυρα ὡσαύτως. ἐστὶ δὲ ἄλλη πόλις

- ἀπέχουσα ὁκτὼ ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος· Ἴς οὖνομα αὐτῇ· ἔνθα ἐστὶ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας· Ἴς καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ οὖνομα· ἐσβάλλει δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν τὸ ῥέεθρον· οὗτος ὦν ὁ Ἴς ποταμὸς, ἅμα τῷ ὕδατι θρόμβους ἀσφάλτου ἀναδιδοῖ πολλοὺς· ἔνθεν ἡ ἀσφαλτος ἐς
- 180 τὸ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τείχος ἐκομίσθη· Τετείχιστο μὲν νυν ἡ Βαβυλὼν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἔστι δὲ δύο φάρσεια τῆς πόλιος· τὸ γὰρ μέσον αὐτῆς ποταμὸς διέργει, τῷ οὖνομά ἐστι Εὐφρήτης· ῥέει δὲ ἐξ Ἀρμενίων, ἐὼν μέγας, καὶ βαθύς, καὶ ταχύς· ἐξίει δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν· τὸ ὦν δὴ τείχος ἐκάτερον τοὺς ἀγκῶνας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐλήλαται· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου, αἱ ἐπικαμπαὶ παρὰ χεῖλος ἐκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, αἵμασιη πλίνθων ὀπτέων παρατείνει· τὸ δὲ ἄστνυ αὐτὸ, ἐὼν πλήρες οἰκίῶν τριορόφων τε καὶ τετρωρόφων, κατατέτμηται τὰς ὁδοὺς ἰθιῆας, τὰς τε ἄλλας, καὶ τὰς ἐπικαρσίας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐχούσας· κατὰ δὴ ὦν ἐκάστην ὁδὸν ἐν τῇ αἵμασιῇ τῇ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδες ἐπῆσαν, ὅσαι περ αἱ λαύραι, τοσαῦται ἀριθμὸν· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αὗται χάλκεαι, φέρουσαι καὶ
- 181 αὐταὶ ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν· Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τείχος θώρηξ ἐστὶ· ἕτερον δὲ ἔσωθεν τείχος περιθεῖ, οὐ πολλῷ τέφῳ ἀσθενέστερον τοῦ ἐτέρου τείχεος, στεινότερον δέ· Ἐν δὲ φάρσει ἐκατέρῳ τῆς πόλιος τετείχιστο ἐν μέσῳ ἐν τῷ ἦεν τὰ βασιλῆα, περιβόλῳ μεγάλῳ τε καὶ ἰσχυρῷ· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ, Διὸς Βήλου ἱρὸν χαλκόπυλον, καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ τοῦτο ἔτι ἐὼν, δύο σταδίων πάντη, ἐὼν τετράγωνον· ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται, σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρις οὐ ὁκτὼ πύργων· ἀνάβασις δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔξωθεν κύκλῳ περὶ πάντας τοὺς πύργους ἔχουσα πεποιήται· μεσοῦντι δέ κου τῆς ἀναβάσιός ἐστι καταγωγὴ τε καὶ θῶκοι ἀμπαυστήριοι, ἐν τοῖσι κατίζοντες ἀμπαύονται οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες· ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ πύργῳ νηὸς ἔπεστι μέγας· ἐν δὲ τῷ νηῷ κλῆνη μεγάλη κέεται εὖ ἐστρωμένη, καὶ οἱ τράπεζα παρακέεται χρυσέη· ἄγαλμα δὲ οὐκ ἐνὶ οὐδὲν αὐτόθι ἐνιδρυμένον· οὐδὲ νύκτα οὐδεὶς ἐναυλίζεται ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι μὴ γυνὴ μούνη τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, τὴν αὖ ὁ θεὸς

ἔλθται ἐκ πασέων, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, ὄντες ἱρέες 182
 τοῦτου τοῦ θεοῦ. Φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ
 πιστὰ λέγοντες, τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν φοιτᾶν τε ἐς τὸν νηὸν, καὶ
 ἀμπαύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, κατὰπερ ἐν Θήβησι τῇσι
 Αἰγυπτίησι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Αἰγύ-
 πτιοι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐκεῖθι κοιμᾶται ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
 Θηβαίεος γυνή· ἀμφότεραι δὲ αὗται λέγονται ἀνδρῶν
 οὐδαμῶν ἐς ὁμίλῃν φοιτᾶν· καὶ κατὰπερ ἐν Πατάροισι
 τῆς Λυκίης ἢ πρόμαντις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὰν γένηται· οὐ γὰρ
 ὦν αἰεὶ ἐστὶ χρηστήριον αὐτόθι· ἐπεὰν δὲ γένηται, τότε
 ὦν συγκατακληῖται τὰς νύκτας ἔσω ἐν τῷ νηῷ. Ἔστι 183
 δὲ τοῦ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱεροῦ καὶ ἄλλος κάτω νηὸς· ἐνθα
 ἄγαλμα μέγα τοῦ Διὸς ἐνὶ κατήμενον χρύσειον, καὶ οἱ
 τράπεζα μεγάλη παρακέεται χρυσῇ, καὶ τὸ βᾶθρον οἱ
 καὶ ὁ θρόνος χρυσεὸς ἐστὶ· καὶ ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ Χαλδαῖοι,
 τάλαντων ὀκτακοσίων χρυσίου πεποιήται ταῦτα. ἔξω δὲ
 τοῦ νηοῦ, βωμὸς ἐστὶ χρύσεος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος βωμὸς
 μέγας, ὅπου θύεται τὰ τέλεα τῶν προβάτων. ἐπὶ γὰρ
 τοῦ χρυσεοῦ βωμοῦ οὐκ ἔξεστι θύειν, ὅτι μὴ γαλαθηνὰ
 μούνα. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ μέζονος βωμοῦ καὶ καταγίζουσι λιβα-
 νωτοῦ χίλια τάλαντα ἔτεος ἑκάστου οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, τότε
 ἐπεὰν τὴν ὀρτὴν ἄγωσι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ. Ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ
 τεμένει τούτῳ ἔτι τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον καὶ ἀνδριάς δυνώδεκα
 πηχέων, χρύσεος, στερεός. ἐγὼ μὲν μιν οὐκ εἶδον· τὰ δὲ
 λέγεται ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων, ταῦτα λέγω. τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδριάντι
 Δαρεῖος μὲν ὁ Ὑστάσπεος ἐπιβουλεύσας, οὐκ ἐτόλμησε
 λαβεῖν· Ξέρξης δὲ ὁ Δαρείου ἔλαβε, καὶ τὸν ἱερά ἀπέ-
 κτεινε, ἀπαγορεύοντα μὴ κινεῖν τὸν ἀνδριάντα. τὸ μὲν
 δὴ ἱερὸν τοῦτο οὕτω κεκόσμητο. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἴδια ἀνα-
 θήματα πολλὰ.

Τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος ταύτης πολλοὶ μὲν κού καὶ ἄλλοι 184
 ἐγένοντο βασιλεῖς, τῶν ἐν τοῖσι Ἀσσυριοῖσι λόγοισι
 μνήμην ποιήσομαι, οἱ τὰ τείχεά τε ἐπεκόσμησαν καὶ
 τὰ ἱρά· ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκες δύο. ἡ μὲν πρότερον
 ἄρξασα, τῆς ὕστερον γενεῇσι πέντε πρότερον γενομένη,
 τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Σεμίραμις. αὕτη μὲν ἀπεδέξατο χώματα
 ἀνὰ τὸ πεδῖον ἔοντα ἀξιοθέτα· πρότερον δὲ ἐώθεε ὁ
 ποταμὸς ἀνὰ τὸ πεδῖον πᾶν πελαγίζειν. Ἡ δὲ δὴ δεύ- 185

τερον γενομένη ταύτης βασιλεία, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Νίτωκρις, (αὕτη δὲ συνετωτέρη γενομένη τῆς πρότερον ἀρξάσης,) τοῦτο μὲν, μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι· τοῦτο δὲ, τὴν Μήδων ὀρώσα ἀρχὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ οὐκ ἀτρεμίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ τε ἀραιρημένα ἄστυα αὐτοῖσι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν Νῆνον, προεφυλάξατο ὅσα ἐδύνατο μά-
 λιστα. Πρώτα μὲν τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν, ῥέοντα πρότερον ἰθὺν, ὅς σφι διὰ τῆς πόλιος μέσης ῥέει, τοῦτον, ἄνωθεν διώρυχας ὀρύξασα, οὕτω δὴ τι ἐποίησε σκολιὸν, ὥστε δὴ τρεῖς ἐς τῶν τινα κωμέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίῃ ἀπικνέεται ῥέων. τῇ δὲ κώμῃ οὐνομά ἐστι, ἐς τὴν ἀπικνέεται ὁ Εὐφρήτης, Ἀρδέρικκα. καὶ νῦν οἱ ἂν κομίζωνται ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς Βαβυλῶνα, καταπλέοντες ἐς τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν, τρεῖς τε ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην κώμην παραγίνονται, καὶ ἐν τρισὶ ἡμέρησι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο ἐποίησε. Χῶμα δὲ παρέχωνσε παρ' ἐκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ χεῖλος, ἄξιον θώμματος, μέγαθος καὶ ὕψος ὅσον τί ἐστι. κατύπερθε δὲ πολλῶ Βαβυλῶνος ὥρυσε ἑλκτρον λίμνη, ὀλίγον τι παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, βάθος μὲν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ αἰεὶ ὀρύσσουσα, εὖρος δὲ τὸ περίμετρον αὐτοῦ ποιεύσα εἴκοσί τε καὶ τετρακοσίων σταδίων· τὸν δὲ ὀρυσσόμενον χοῦν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἀναισίμου παρὰ τὰ χεῖλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραχέουσα. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ οἱ ὥρυκτο, λίθους ἀγαγομένη, κρηπίδα κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὴν ἤλασε. Ἐποίει δὲ ἀμφοτέρω ταῦτα, τὸν τε ποταμὸν σκολιὸν, καὶ τὸ ὀρυγμα πᾶν ἔλος· ὥς ὅτε ποταμὸς βραδύτερος εἴη, περὶ καμπὰς πολλὰς ἀγνύμενος, καὶ οἱ πλοοὶ ἔωσι σκολιοὶ ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα· ἕκ τε τῶν πλώων ἐκδέκεται περίοδος τῆς λίμνης μακρῆ. κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ εἰργάζετο τῆς χώρας τῇ αἰὲς ἐσβολαὶ ἦσαν, καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ἐκ Μήδων ὁδοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιμισγόμενοι οἱ Μῆδοι ἐκμανθάνοιεν αὐτῆς
 186 τὰ πρήγματα. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐκ βάθεος περιεβάλετο· τοιγύνη δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν παρευθῆκην ἐποίησατο. Τῆς πόλιος εὐούσης δύο φαρσέων, τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ μέσον ἔχοντος, ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων ὅπως τις ἐθέλοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐτέρου φάρσεος ἐς τοῦτερον διαβῆναι, χρὴν πλοῖον διαβαίνειν. καὶ ἦν, ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ὀχληρὸν τοῦτο· αὕτη

δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προεῖδε. ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ ὥρυσσε τὸ ἔλутρον τῇ λίμνῃ, μνημόσυνον τότε ἄλλο ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου ἐλίπετο. ἐτάμνετο λίθους περιμήκεας· ὡς δὲ οἱ ἦσαν οἱ λίθοι ἐτοίμοι, καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὀρώρυκτο, ἐκτρέψασα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ῥέεθρον πᾶν ἐς τὸ ὥρυσσε χωρίον, ἐν τῷ ἐπίμπλατο τοῦτο, ἐν τούτῳ ἀπεξηρασμένου τοῦ ἀρχαίου ῥέεθρου, τοῦτο μὲν, τὰ χεῖλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς καταβάσις, τὰς ἐκ τῶν πυλίδων ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν φερούσας, ἀνοικοδόμησε πλίνθοισι ὀπτήσιν, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ τείχεϊ τοῦτο δὲ, κατὰ μέσσην κοινὴν μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν, τοῖσι λίθοισι, τοὺς ὠρύξας, οἰκοδόμειε γέφυραν, δέουσα τοὺς λίθους σιδήρῳ τε καὶ μολύβδῳ. ἐπιτείνεσκε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὴν, ὅπως μὲν ἡμέρη γένοιτο, ξύλα τετράγωνα, ἐπ' ὧν τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιεῖντο οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι· τὰς δὲ νύκτας τὰ ξύλα ταῦτα ἀπαιρέεσκον, τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα μὴ διαφοιτέοντες τὰς νύκτας κλέπτοιεν παρ' ἀλλήλων. ὡς δὲ τό τε ὀρυχθὲν λίμνη πλήρης ἐγεγονεε ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἐκεκόσμητο, τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ῥέεθρα ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἐξήγαγε· καὶ οὕτω τὸ ὀρυχθὲν, ἔλος γενόμενον, ἐς δέον ἐδόκειε γεγονέναι, καὶ τοῖσι πολίτησι γέφυρα ἦν κατεσκευασμένη.

Ἡ δ' αὐτὴ αὐτὴ βασιλεία καὶ ἀπάτην τοιήνδε τινὰ 187 ἐμηχανήσατο. Ὅτι τῶν μάλιστα λεωφόρων πυλέων τοῦ ἄστεος τάφον ἐωυτῇ κατεσκευάσατο μετέωρον ἐπιπολῆς αὐτέων τῶν πυλέων· ἐνεκόλαψε δὲ ἐς τὸν τάφον γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε· ΤΩΝ ΤΙΣ ΕΜΕΥ ὙΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΓΙΝΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, ΗΝ ΣΠΑΝΙΣΗΙ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ, ΑΝΟΙΞΑΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΑΦΟΝ, ΛΑΒΕΤΩ ὍΚΟΣΑ ΒΟΥΛΕΤΑΙ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΑ. ΜΗ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ ΓΕ ΜΗ ΣΠΑΝΙΣΑΣ ΓΕ, ΑΛΛΩΣ ΑΝΟΙΞΗΙ. ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΑΜΕΙΝΟΝ. Οὗτος ὁ τάφος ἦν ἀκίνητος, μέχρι οὐ ἐς Δαρείον περιήλθε ἡ βασιλεῖα. Δαρεῖω δὲ καὶ δεινὸν ἐδόκειε εἶναι τῇσι πύλῃσι ταύτῃσι μηδὲν χρέεσθαι· καὶ χρημάτων κειμένων, καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν χρημάτων ἐπικαλεομένων, μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν αὐτά. τῇσι δὲ πύλῃσι ταύτῃσι οὐδὲν ἐχράτο, τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς οἱ ἐγίνετο ὁ νεκρὸς διεξαλαύ-

νοντι. ἀνοίξας δὲ τὸν τάφον, εὔρε χρήματα μὲν οὐ, τὸν δὲ νεκρὸν, καὶ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε· Εἰ ΜΗ ΑΠΛΗΣΤΟΣ ΤΕ ΕΑΣ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΙΣΧΡΟΚΕΡΔΗΣ, ΟΥΚ ΑΝ ΝΕΚΡΩΝ ΘΗΚΑΣ ΑΝΕΩΙΓΕΣ.

- 188 Αὕτη μὲν νυν ἡ βασιλεία τοιαύτη τις λέγεται γενέσθαι. Ὁ δὲ δὴ Κῦρος ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν παῖδα ἐστρατεύετο, ἔχοντά τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐωυτοῦ τοῦνομα Λαβυνήτου καὶ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχήν. Στρατεύεται δὲ δὴ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐσκευασμένοισι ἐξ οἴκου, καὶ προβάτοισι· καὶ δὴ καὶ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοάσπεω ποταμοῦ ἅμα ἄγεται τοῦ παρὰ Σοῦσα ῥέοντος, τοῦ μούνου πίνει βασιλεὺς, καὶ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ποταμοῦ. τούτου δὲ τοῦ Χοάσπεω τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπεψημένου πολλὰι κάρτα ἅμαξαι τετράκυκλοι ἡμιόνειαι κομίζουσιν ἐν ἀγγείοισι ἀργυρέοισι. ἔπονται ὅπη ἂν ἐλαύνησι
- 189 ἐκάστοτε. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ὁ Κῦρος πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Γύνδη ποταμῷ, τοῦ αἰ μὲν πηγαὶ ἐν Ματιηνοῖσι οὖρεσι, ῥέει δὲ διὰ Δαρδανέων. ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ἐς ἕτερον ποταμὸν Τίγριν· ὁ δὲ παρὰ Ὠπιν πόλιν ῥέων ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοὶ· τούτου δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ὡς διαβαίνειν ἐπειράτο ὁ Κῦρος, ἔοντα νησιπέρητον, ἐνθαυτὰ οἱ τῶν τις ἱρῶν ἵππων τῶν λευκῶν ὑπὸ ὕβριος ἐσβὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν, διαβαίνειν ἐπειράτο. ὁ δὲ μιν συμψήσας, ὑποβρύχιον οἰχώκεε φέρων. κάρτα τε δὴ ἐχαλέπαινε τῷ ποταμῷ ὁ Κῦρος τοῦτο ὑβρίσαντι, καὶ οἱ ἐπηπείλησε, οὕτω δὴ μιν ἀσθενέα ποιήσειν, ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναικᾶς μιν εὐπετέως, τὸ γόνυ οὐ βρεχούσας, διαβήσεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπειλήν, μετεῖς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα στράτευσιν, διαίρειε τὴν στρατιὴν δίχα. διελὼν δὲ, κατέτεινε σχοινοτενέας ὑποδέξας διώρυχας ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν παρ' ἑκάτερον τὸ χεῖλος τετραμμένας τοῦ Γύνδεω πάντα τρόπον. διατάξας δὲ τὸν στρατὸν, ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε. οἶα δὲ ὀμίλου πολλοῦ ἐργαζομένου, ἦνετο μὲν τὸ ἔργον, ὅμως μέντοι τὴν θερείην πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ταύτη διέτριψαν ἐργαζόμενοι.

- 190 Ὡς δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ἐτίσατο Κῦρος, ἐς τριηκοσίας καὶ ἐξήκοντά μιν διώρυχας διαλαβὼν, καὶ τὸ

δεύτερον ἔαρ ὑπέλαμπε, οὕτω δὴ ἤλαυνε ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυ-
 λῶνα. οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ἐκστρατευσάμενοι, ἔμενον αὐ-
 τόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐλαύνων ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλιος, συν-
 ἔβαλόν τε οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι, καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ,
 κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. οἷα δὲ ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἔτι
 πρότερον τὸν Κῦρον οὐκ ἀτρεμίζοντα, ἀλλ' ὀρέοντες αὐ-
 τὸν παντὶ ἔθνεϊ ὁμοίως ἐπιχειρέοντα, προεσάξαντο σιτία
 ἐτέων κάρτα πολλῶν. Ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν λόγον εἶχον
 τῆς πολιορκίης οὐδένα. Κῦρος δὲ ἀπορίησι ἐνείχετο, ἅτε
 χρόνου τε ἐγγινομένου συχνοῦ, ἀνωτέρω τε οὐδὲν τῶν
 πρηγμάτων προκοπτομένων. Εἴτε δὴ ὦν ἄλλος οἱ ἀπο- 191
 ρέοντι ὑπεθήκατο, εἴτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμαθε τὸ ποιητέον οἱ
 ἦν, ἐποίησε δὴ τοιούδε. τάξας τὴν στρατιὴν ἅπασαν ἐξ
 ἐμβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσβάλλει, καὶ
 ὀπισθε αὐτὶς τῆς πόλιος τάξας ἐτέρους, τῇ ἐξίει ἐκ τῆς
 πόλιος ὁ ποταμός· προεῖπε τῷ στρατῷ, ὅταν διαβατὸν
 τὸ ῥέεθρον ἴδωνται γενόμενον, ἐσιέναι ταύτῃ ἐς τὴν πόλιν.
 οὕτω τε δὴ τάξας, καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα παραινέσας, ἀπήλαυνε
 αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ ἀχρηΐῳ τοῦ στρατοῦ. Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ
 τὴν λίμνην, τὰ περ ἢ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεία ἐποίησε
 κατὰ τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην, ἐποίησε καὶ ὁ
 Κῦρος ἕτερα τοιαῦτα. τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν διώρυχῃ ἐσαγα-
 γὼν ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐοῦσαν ἔλος, τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον
 διαβατὸν εἶναι ἐποίησε, ὑπονοστήσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ.
 γενομένου δὲ τούτου τοιούτου, οἱ Πέρσαι, οἵπερ ἐτετά-
 χατο ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ ῥέεθρον τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω
 ποταμοῦ, ὑπονεοστήκτος ἀνδρὶ ὡς ἐς μέσον μῆρον
 μάλιστά κη, κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσῆσαν ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. Εἰ
 μὲν νυν προεπύθοντο, ἢ ἔμαθον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τὸ ἐκ
 τοῦ Κύρου ποιούμενον, οὐδ' ἂν, περιιδόντες τοὺς Πέρσας
 ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, διέφθειραν κάκιστα. κατακληΐ-
 σαντες γὰρ ἂν πάσας τὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδας ἐχού-
 σας, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αἵμασιὰς ἀναβάντες τὰς παρὰ τὰ
 χεῖλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐληλαμένας, ἔλαβον ἂν σφεας ὡς ἐν
 κύρτῃ. νῦν δὲ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου σφι παρέστησαν οἱ Πέρ-
 σαι. ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάλῃ τῆς πόλιος, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν
 ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, τῶν περὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς πόλιος ἐαλω-
 κότων, τοὺς τὸ μέσον οἰκέοντας τῶν Βαβυλωνίων οὐ

μανθάνειν ἐαλωκότας· ἀλλὰ (τυχεῖν γάρ σφι εὐόσαν ὀρτὴν) χορεύειν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, καὶ ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι εἶναι, ἐς ὃ δὴ καὶ τὸ κάρτα ἐπύθοντο.

- 192 Καὶ Βαβυλῶν μὲν οὕτω τότε πρῶτον ἀραίρητο. Τὴν δὲ δύναμιν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι δηλώσω ὅση τίς ἐστι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε. Βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς τροφήν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς στρατιῆς διαραίρηται, πᾶρεξ τοῦ φόρου, γῇ πᾶσα ὅσης ἄρχει. δυώδεκα ὦν μηνῶν ἐόντων ἐς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, τοὺς τέσσερας μῆνας τρέφει μιν ἡ Βαβυλωνίη χώρα· τοὺς δὲ ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν, ἡ λοιπὴ πᾶσα Ἀσίη. οὕτω τριτημορίη ἡ Ἀσσυρίη χώρα τῇ δυνάμει τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίας· καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς χώρας ταύτης, τὴν οἱ Πέρσαι σατραπηΐην καλέουσι, ἔστι ἀπασέων τῶν ἀρχέων πολλόν τι κρατίστη· ὅκου Τριτανταίχμη τῷ Ἀρταβάζου ἐκ βασιλέως ἔχοντι τὸν νομὸν τοῦτον, ἀργυρίου μὲν προσῆι ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἀρτάβη μεστή· ἡ δὲ ἀρτάβη, μέτρον ἐὼν Περσικόν, χωρέει μεδίμνου Ἀττικῆς πλείον χοῖνιξι τρισὶ Ἀττικῇσι. ἵπποι δὲ οἱ αὐτοῦ ἦσαν ἰδίη, πᾶρεξ τῶν πολεμιστηρίων, οἱ μὲν ἀναβαίνοντες τὰς θηλέας, ὀκτακόσιοι· αἱ δὲ βαινόμεναι, ἑξακισχίλια καὶ μύρια. ἀνέβαινε γὰρ ἕκαστος τῶν ἐρσένων τούτων εἴκοσι ἵππους. κυνῶν δὲ Ἰνδικῶν τοσούτο δὴ τι πλῆθος ἐτρέφετο, ὥστε τέσσερες τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κῶμαι μεγάλαι, τῶν ἄλλων εὐόσαι ἀτελέες, τοῖσι κυσὶ προσετετάχατο σιτία παρέχειν. τοιαῦτα μὲν τῷ
- 193 ἄρχοντι τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ὑπῆρχε ἑόντα. Ἡ δὲ γῇ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἕται μὲν ὀλίγῳ, καὶ τὸ ἐκτρέφον τὴν ῥίζαν τοῦ σίτου ἐστὶ τοῦτο. ἀρδόμενον μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀδρύνεται τε τὸ λῆϊον, καὶ παραγίνεται ὁ σίτος· οὐ, κατάπερ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβαίνοντος ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας, ἀλλὰ χερσὶ τε καὶ κηλωνηίοισι ἀρδόμενος. ἡ γὰρ Βαβυλωνίη χώρα πᾶσα, κατάπερ ἡ Αἰγυπτία, κατατέμνεται ἐς διώρυχας· καὶ ἡ μεγίστη τῶν διωρύχων ἐστὶ νηυσιπέρητος, πρὸς ἥλιον τετραμμένη τὸν χειμερινόν· ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς ἄλλον ποταμὸν ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφρήτew, ἐς τὸν Τίγριν, παρ' ὃν Νῖνος πόλις οἴκητο. ἔστι δὲ χωρέων αὕτη ἀπασέων μακρῷ ἀρίστη, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν. τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα δένδρεα οὐδὲ πειράται

ἀρχὴν φέρειν, οὔτε συκὴν, οὔτε ἄμπελον, οὔτε ἐλαίην τὸν δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος καρπὸν ὧδε ἀγαθὴ ἐκφέρειν ἐστὶ, ὥστε ἐπὶ δικόσια μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀποδίδοι· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἄριστα αὐτῇ ἐωυτῆς ἐνείκη, ἐπὶ τριηκόσια ἐκφέρει. τὰ δὲ φύλλα αὐτόθι τῶν τε πυρῶν καὶ τῶν κριθῶν τὸ πλάτος γίνεται τεσσέρων εὐπετέως δακτύλων. ἐκ δὲ κέγχρου καὶ σησάμου ὅσον τι δένδρον μέγαθος γίνεται, ἐξεπιστάμενος, μνήμην οὐ ποιήσομαι· εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῖσι μὴ ἀπυγμένοις ἐς τὴν Βαβυλωνίην χώραν καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα καρπῶν ἐχόμενα ἐς ἀπιστὴν πολλὴν ἀπικται. χρέονται δὲ οὐδὲν ἐλαίῳ, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν σησάμων ποιεύντες. εἰσὶ δὲ σφι φοινίκες πεφυκότες ἀνὰ πᾶν τὸ πεδίον· οἱ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν καρποφόροι, ἐκ τῶν καὶ σιτία καὶ οἶνον καὶ μέλι ποιεύνται· τοὺς συκέων τρόπον θεραπεύουσι, τὰ τε ἄλλα, καὶ φοινίκων τοὺς ἔρσενας Ἕλληνες καλέουσι, τούτων τὸν καρπὸν περιδέουσι τῇσι βαλανηφόροις τῶν φοινίκων, ἵνα πεπαίῃ τε σφι ὁ ψῆν τὴν βάλανον ἐσδύνων, καὶ μὴ ἀπορρῆ ὁ καρπὸς ὁ τοῦ φοίνικος. ψῆνας γὰρ δὴ φορέουσι ἐν τῷ καρπῷ οἱ ἔρσενες, κατὰπερ δὴ οἱ ὄλυνθοι.

Τὸ δὲ ἀπάντων θῶμα μέγιστόν μοι ἐστὶ τῶν ταύτῃ, 194
μετὰ γε αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν, ἔρχομαι φράσω. τὰ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσί ἐστι τὰ κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πορευόμενα ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἔοντα κυκλοτερέα, πάντα σκύτινα. ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Ἀρμενίοις, τοῖσι κατ' ὑπερθε Ἀσσυρίων οἰκημένοις, νομέας ἱτέης ταμόμενοι ποιήσωνται, περιτείνουσι τούτοις διφθέρας στεγαστρίδας ἔξωθεν, ἐδάφεος τρόπον, οὔτε πρύμνην ἀποκρίνουντες, οὔτε πρῶρην συνάγοντες, ἀλλ' ἀσπίδος τρόπον κυκλοτερέα ποιήσαντες. καὶ καλᾶμης πλήσαντες πᾶν τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτο, ἀπιασι κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν φέρεσθαι, φορτίων πλήσαντες· μάλιστα δὲ βίκους φοινικῆίου κατὰγουσι οἶνου πλέους. ἰθύνεται δὲ ὑπὸ τε δύο πλήκτρων, καὶ δύο ἀνδρῶν ὀρθῶν ἐστεώτων· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔσω ἔλκει τὸ πλήκτρον, ὁ δὲ ἔξω ὠθέει. ποιέεται δὲ καὶ κάρτα μεγάλα ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα, καὶ ἐλάσσω· τὰ δὲ μέγιστα αὐτῶν, καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ταλάντων γόμον ἔχει. ἐν ἐκάστῳ δὲ πλοίῳ ὄνος ζωὸς ἔνεστι, ἐν δὲ τοῖσι μέεσσι πλεῦνες. ἐπεὰν ὦν ἀπικωνται πλείοντες ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ διαθέωνται τὸν φόρτον, νομέας μὲν τοῦ

- πλοίου καὶ τὴν καλάμην πᾶσαν ἀπ' ὧν ἐκήρυξαν τὰς δὲ διφθέρας ἐπισάξαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους, ἀπελαύνουσι ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους. ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν γὰρ δὴ οὐκ οἶά τέ ἐστι πλέειν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ, ὑπὸ τάχεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἐκ ξύλων ποιεῦνται τὰ πλοῖα, ἀλλ' ἐκ διφθερέων. ἔπειαν δὲ τοὺς ὄνους ἐλαύνοντες ἀπίκωνται ὀπίσω ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους, ἄλλα τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ποιεῦνται
- 195 πλοῖα. τὰ μὲν δὴ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσί ἐστι τοιαῦτα. Ἐσθῆτι δὲ τοιῇδε χρέωνται, κιθῶνι ποδηνεκῆϊ λινέῳ· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἄλλον εἰρίνεον κιθῶνα ἐπενδύνει, καὶ χλανίδιον λευκὸν περιβαλλόμενος, ὑποδήματα ἔχων ἐπιχώρια, παρὰ πλῆσι τῆσι Βοιωτῆσι ἐμβάσι. κομῶντες δὲ, τὰς κεφαλὰς μίτρησι ἀναδέονται, μεμυρισμένοι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα. σφρηγίδα δὲ ἕκαστος ἔχει, καὶ σκῆπτρον χειροποίητον· ἐπ' ἑκάστῳ δὲ σκῆπτρῳ ἔπεστι πεποιημένον ἢ μῆλον, ἢ ῥόδον, ἢ κρίνον, ἢ αἰετός, ἢ ἄλλο τι. ἀνευ γὰρ ἐπισήμου οὐ σφι νόμος ἐστι ἔχειν σκῆπτρον. αὕτη μὲν δὴ σφι ἄρτισις περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐστί.
- 196 Νόμοι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ὧδε κατεστέεται. ὁ μὲν σοφώτατος ὅδε, κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἡμετέραν, τῷ καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν Ἐνετοῦς πυνθάνομαι χρῆσθαι. κατὰ κώμας ἐκάστας ἀπαξ τοῦ ἔτεος ἐκάστου ἐποιέετο τάδε. ὥς ἂν αἱ παρθένοι γινοῖατο γάμων ὡραῖαι, ταύτας ὅκως συναγάγοιεν πάσας, ἐς ἓν χωρίον ἐσάγεσκον ἀλέας· πέριξ δὲ αὐτὰς ἴστατο ὄμιλος ἀνδρῶν. ἀνιστὰς δὲ κατὰ μίαν ἐκάστην κήρυξ πωλέεσκε, πρῶτα μὲν τὴν εὐειδεστάτην ἐκ πασέων· μετὰ δὲ, ὅκως αὕτη εὐρούσα πολλὸν χρυσίου πρηθείη, ἄλλην ἀνεκήρυσσε, ἢ μετ' ἐκείνην ἔσκε εὐειδεστάτη. ἐπωλέοντο δὲ ἐπὶ συνοικήσει. ὅσοι μὲν δὴ ἔσκον εὐδαίμονες τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐπίγαμοι, ὑπερβάλλοντες ἀλλήλους ἐξωνέοντο τὰς καλλιστενούσας· ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ δήμου ἔσκον ἐπίγαμοι, οὗτοι δὲ εἵδεος μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο χρηστοῦ, οἱ δ' ἂν χρήματά τε καὶ αἰσχίονας παρθένους ἐλάμβανον. ὥς γὰρ διεξέλθοι ὁ κήρυξ πωλέων τὰς εὐειδεστάτας τῶν παρθένων, ἀνίστη ἂν τὴν ἀμορφεστάτην, ἢ εἴ τις αὐτέων ἔμπηρος ᾗν, καὶ ταύτην ἀνεκήρυσσε, ὅστις θέλοι, ἐλάχιστον χρυσίου λαβὼν, συνοικέειν αὐτῇ· ἐς δὲ τῷ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὑπισταμένῳ προσεκέετο. τὸ δὲ

ἂν χρυσίον ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ τῶν εὐειδέων παρθένων· καὶ
 οὕτω αἱ εὐμορφοὶ τὰς ἀμόρφους καὶ ἐμπήρους ἐξεδίδουσαν.
 ἐκδοῦναι δὲ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα ὅτε βούλοιτο ἕκαστος
 οὐκ ἐξῆν, οὐδὲ ἄνευ ἐγγυητέω ἀπαγαγέσθαι τὴν παρθένον
 πριάμενον, ἀλλ' ἐγγυητὰς χρῆν καταστήσαντα, ἥ μὴν
 συνοικήσειν αὐτῇ, οὕτω ἂν ἄγεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ συμ-
 φεροίαιτο, ἀποφέρειν τὸ χρυσίον ἐκέετο νόμος. ἐξῆν δὲ
 καὶ ἐξ ἄλλης ἐλθόντα κώμης τὸν βουλόμενον ὠνέεσθαι.
 ὁ μὲν νυν κάλλιστος νόμος, οὗτός σφι ἦν· οὐ μέντοι
 νῦν γε διετέλεσε ἑὼν. ἄλλο δέ τι ἐξευρήκασιν νεωστὶ
 γενέσθαι, ἵνα μὴ ἀδικοῖεν αὐτὰς, μήδ' ἐς ἐτέρην πόλιν
 ἄγωνται· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ ἀλόντες ἐκακώθησαν καὶ οἰκο-
 φθορήθησαν, πᾶς τις τοῦ δήμου, βίου σπανίζων, κατα-
 πορνεύει τὰ θήλεα τέκνα. Δεύτερος δὲ σοφίῃ ὅδε ἄλλος 197
 σφι νόμος κατεστήκεε. τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν
 ἐκφορέουσιν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ χρέωνται ἡτροῖσι. προσιόντες
 ὦν πρὸς τὸν κάμνοντα, συμβουλεύουσι περὶ τῆς νοῦσου,
 εἴ τις καὶ αὐτὸς τοιοῦτον ἔπαθε, ὅκοῖον ἔχει ὁ κάμνων,
 ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε παθόντα. ταῦτα προσιόντες συμβουλεύ-
 ονσι, καὶ παραινέουσιν ἅσσα αὐτὸς ποιήσας ἐξέφυγε
 ὁμοίην νοῦσον, ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε ἐκφυγόντα. σιγῇ δὲ παρ-
 εξελθεῖν τὸν κάμνοντα οὐ σφι ἔξεστι, πρὶν ἂν ἐπείρηται
 ἦντινα νοῦσον ἔχει. Ταφαὶ δὲ σφι ἐν μέλιτι. θρήνοι 198
 δὲ παραπλήσιοι τοῖσι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. ὡσάκις δ' ἂν μιχθῇ
 γυναικὶ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος, περὶ θυμὸν κα-
 ταγιζόμενον ἵζει· ἐτέρωθι δὲ ἡ γυνὴ τῷ αὐτῷ ποιεῖ.
 ὄρθρου δὲ γενομένου, λύνονται καὶ ἀμφοτέροι· ἄγγεος
 γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἄφρονται πρὶν ἂν λούσωνται. ταῦτα δὲ
 ταῦτα καὶ Ἀραβιοὶ ποιεῖσι.

Ὁ δὲ δὴ αἰσχιστος τῶν νόμων ἔστι τοῖσι Βαβυ- 199
 λωνίοις ὅδε. δεῖ πᾶσαν γυναῖκα ἐπιχωρίην ἰσομένην
 ἐς ἱρὸν Ἀφροδίτης, ἅπαξ ἐν τῇ ζῳῇ μιχθῆναι ἀνδρὶ
 ξείνῳ. πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀξιεύμεναι ἀναμίσγεσθαι
 τῇσι ἄλλῃσι, οἷα πλούτῳ ὑπερφρονέουσai, ἐπὶ ζευγέων
 ἐν καμάρῃσι ἐλάσασαι, πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν ἐστᾶσι· θεραπήνῃ
 δὲ σφι ὅπισθεν ἔπεται πολλή. αἱ δὲ πλεῦνες ποιεῖσι
 ὧδε. ἐν τεμένει Ἀφροδίτης κατέεται, στέφανον περὶ
 τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἔχουσai θώμιγγος, πολλαὶ γυναῖκες· αἱ

μὲν γὰρ προσέρχονται, αἱ δὲ ἀπέρχονται. σχοινοτενέες δὲ διέξοδοι πάντα τρόπον ὁδῶν ἔχουσι διὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, δι' ὧν οἱ ξεῖνοι διεξιόντες ἐκλέγονται. ἔνθα ἐπεὰν ἴζηται γυνή, οὐ πρότερον ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ἢ τίς οἱ ξείνων ἀργύριον ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὰ γούνατα, μιχθῇ ἔξω τοῦ ἱροῦ. ἐμβαλόντα δὲ δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοσόνδε· “Ἐπικαλέω “τοι τὴν θεὸν Μύλιττα.” Μύλιττα δὲ καλέουσι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Ἀσσύριοι. τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον μέγαθός ἐστι ὅσον ὦν· οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἀπώσεται· οὐ γὰρ οἱ θέμις ἐστὶ γίνεσθαι γὰρ ἱρὸν τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον. τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ ἐμβαλόντι ἔπεται, οὐδὲ ἀποδοκιμᾷ οὐδένα. ἐπεὰν δὲ μιχθῇ, ἀποσιωσαμένη τῇ θεῷ, ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία· καὶ τῷπὸ τούτου οὐκ οὕτω μέγα τί οἱ δώσεις ὥς μιν λάμψει. ὅσαι μὲν νυν εἶδός τε ἐπαμμέναι εἰσὶ καὶ μεγάθεος, ταχὺ ἀπαλλάσσονται· ὅσαι δὲ ἄμορφοι αὐτέων εἰσὶ, χρόνον πολλὸν προσμένουσι, οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλῆσαι· καὶ γὰρ τριέτεα καὶ τετραέτεα μετεξέτεραι χρόνον μένουσι. Ἐνιαχῇ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κύπρου ἐστὶ παραπλήσιος τούτῳ νόμος.

200 Νόμοι μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι οὗτοι κατεστέασι. Εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτῶν πατριαὶ τρεῖς, αἱ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σιτέονται εἰ μὴ ἰχθὺς μούνον· τοὺς ἐπεὶ τε ἂν θηρεύσαντες ἀνήνωσι πρὸς ἥλιον, ποιέουσι τάδε. ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς ὄλμον, καὶ λεήναντες ὑπέροισι, σῶσι διὰ σινδόνοιο· καὶ ὃς μὲν ἂν βούληται αὐτῶν, ἅτε μάζαν μαζάμενος ἔχει· ὁ δὲ, ἄρτου τρόπον ὀπτήσας.

201 Ὡς δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος κατέργαστο, ἐπεθύμησε Μασσαγέτας ὑπ' ἐνὸς ποιήσασθαι. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο, καὶ μέγα λέγεται εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, οἰκη-
 μένον δὲ πρὸς ἥῳ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς, πέρην τοῦ Ἀράξεω ποταμοῦ, ἀντίον δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων ἀνδρῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ

202 οἱ τινες καὶ Σκυθικὸν λέγουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι. Ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης λέγεται καὶ μέζων καὶ ἐλάσσων εἶναι τοῦ Ἰστροῦ· νήσους δ' ἐν αὐτῷ, Λέσβῳ μεγάθεα παραπλη-
 σίας, συχνὰς φάσι εἶναι. ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι ἀνθρώπους, οἱ σιτέονται μὲν ρίζας τὸ θέρος ὀρύσσοντες παντοίας· καρ-
 πούς δὲ ἀπὸ δεινδρέων ἐξευρημένους σφι ἐς φορβὴν κατα-
 τίθεσθαι ὠραίους, καὶ τούτους σιτέεσθαι τὴν χειμερινήν.

ἄλλα δέ σφι ἐξευρῆσθαι δένδρεα, καρποὺς τοιούσδε τινὺς φέροντα, τοὺς, ἐπεὶ τε ἂν ἐς τὴν συνέλθωσι κατὰ εἰλας, καὶ πῦρ ἀνακύνονται, κύκλω περιῤῥιζομένους ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ· ὁσφραινομένους δὲ καταγιζομένου τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἐπιβαλλομένου, μεθύσκεσθαι τῇ ὀδμῇ, κατάπερ Ἑλληνας τῷ οἴνῳ. πλεῦνος δὲ ἐπιβαλλομένου τοῦ καρποῦ, μᾶλλον μεθύσκεσθαι· ἐς δ' ἐς ὄρχησίν τε ἀνίστασθαι, καὶ ἐς αἰοιδὴν ἀπικνέεσθαι. τούτων μὲν αὕτη λέγεται δαίαιτα εἶναι. Ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης ποταμὸς ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Ματινῶν, ὅθεν περ ὁ Γύνδης, τὸν ἐς τὰς διώρυχας τὰς ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας διέλαβε ὁ Κῦρος· στομασι δὲ ἐξερεύγεται τεσσαράκοντα, τῶν τὰ πάντα, πλὴν ἐνός, ἐς ἑλέα τε καὶ τενάγεια ἐκδιδού· ἐν τοῖσι ἀνθρώπους κατοικέσθαι λέγουσι ἰχθύς ὠμοὺς σιτεομένους, ἐσθῆτι δὲ νομίζοντας χρᾶσθαι φωκέων δέρμασι. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Ἀράξεω ῥέει διὰ καθαροῦ ἐς τὴν Κασπίην θάλασσαν. ἡ δὲ Κασπίη θάλασσά ἐστι ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς, οὐ συμμίσχουσα τῇ ἐτέρῃ θαλάσῃ. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνες ναυτίλλονται πᾶσαν, καὶ ἡ ἔξω στηλέων θάλασσα ἡ Ἀτλαντὶς καλεομένη, καὶ ἡ Ἐρυθρὴ, μία τυγχάνει ἐούσα. Ἡ δὲ Κασπίη, 203 ἐστι ἐτέρῃ ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς· ἐούσα μῆκος μὲν πλόου, εἰρεσίῃ χρεωμένῳ, πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερέων· εὖρος δὲ, τῇ εὐρυτάτῃ ἐστὶ αὐτῇ ἐωυτῆς, ὀκτὼ ἡμερέων. Καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην φέροντα τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ὁ Καύκασος παρατείνει, ἐὼν οὐρέων καὶ πλήθει μέγιστον, καὶ μεγάθει ὑψηλότατον. ἔθνεα δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ἐν ἐωυτῷ ἔχει ὁ Καύκασος· τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἀπ' ὕλης ἀγρίης ζῶντα. ἐν τοῖσι καὶ δένδρεα φύλλα τοιῆσδε ἰδέης παρεχόμενα εἶναι λέγεται, τὰ τρίβοντάς τε καὶ παραμίσχοντας ὕδωρ, ζῶα ἐωυτοῖσι ἐς τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐγγράφειν· τὰ δὲ ζῶα οὐκ ἐκπλύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συγκαταγηράσκειν τῷ ἄλλῳ εἰρίῳ, κατάπερ ἐνυφανθέντα ἀρχήν. μίξιν δὲ τούτων τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι ἐμφανέα, κατάπερ τοῖσι προβάτοισι.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης, τῆς 204 Κασπίης καλεομένης, ὁ Καύκασος ἀπέργει· τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἡῷ τε καὶ ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα, πεδίον ἐκδέκεται, πλήθος ἄπειρον ἐς ἀποψιν τοῦ ὧν δὴ πεδίου τοῦ μεγάλου οὐκ

ἐλαχίστην μοίρην μετέχουσι οἱ Μασσαγέται, ἐπ' οὓς ὁ Κῦρος ἔσχε προθυμίην στρατεύσασθαι. πολλά τε γάρ μιν καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἐπαείροντα καὶ ἐποτρύνοντα ἦν. πρῶτον μὲν ἡ γένεσις, τὸ δοκέειν πλέον τι εἶναι ἀνθρώπων· δεύτερα δέ, ἡ εὐτυχία ἡ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους γενομένη· ὅκη γὰρ ἰθύσειε στρατεύεσθαι Κῦρος, ἀμήχανον ἦν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔθνος διαφυγέειν.

- 205 Ἦν δέ, τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανόντος, γυνὴ τῶν Μασσαγετέων βασίλεια· Τόμυρις οἱ ἦν οὖνομα. ταύτην πέμπων ὁ Κῦρος ἐμνάτο τῷ λόγῳ, θέλων γυναικα ἦν ἔχειν. ἡ δὲ Τόμυρις συνιείσα οὐκ αὐτὴν μιν μνώμενον, ἀλλὰ τὴν Μασσαγετέων βασιλῆην, ἀπείπατο τὴν πρόσδοτον. Κῦρος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὥς οἱ δόλω οὐ προεχώρεε, ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεια, ἐποίετο ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας στρατηγὴν, γεφύρας τε ζευγνύων ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, διάβασιν τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ πλοίων τῶν δια-
- 206 πορθμευόντων τὸν ποταμὸν οἰκοδομώμενος. Ἐχοντι δέ οἱ τοῦτον τὸν πόνον, πέμψασα ἡ Τόμυρις κήρυκα, ἔλεγε τάδε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, παῦσαι σπεύδων τὰ σπεύδεις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰδείης εἴ τοι ἐς καιρὸν ἔσται ταῦτα τελεύμενα· παυσάμενος δέ, βασίλευε τῶν σεωντοῦ, καὶ ἡμέας ἀνέχου ὀρέων ἄρχοντας τῶν περ ἄρχομεν. Οὐκ ὦν ἐβελήσεις ὑποθήκησι τῇσιδε χρέεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἡσυχίης εἶναι. σὺ δὲ εἰ μεγάλως προθυμέαι Μασσαγετέων πειρηθῆναι, φέρε, μόχθον μὲν, τὸν ἔχεις ζευγνὺς τὸν ποταμὸν, ἄφες· σὺ δέ, ἡμέων ἀναχωρησάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τριῶν ἡμερέων ὁδὸν, διάβαινε ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρην. εἰ δ' ἡμέας βούλει ἐσδέξασθαι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρην, σὺ τῷτ' οὗτο ποίεε.” Ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ Κῦρος, συνεκάλεσε Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους· συναγείρας δὲ τούτους, ἐς μέσον σφι προετίθεε τὸ πρῆγμα, συμβουλευόμενος ὁκότερα ποιέη. τῶν δὲ κατὰ τῷτ' αἰγνώμαι συνεξέπιπτον, κελεύοντων ἐσδέκεσθαι Τόμυριν τε
- 207 καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν χώραν. Παρεὼν δὲ καὶ μεμφόμενος τὴν γνώμην ταύτην Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς, ἀπεδείκνυτο ἐναντίην τῇ προκειμένη γνώμῃ, λέγων τάδε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἶπον μὲν καὶ πρότερόν τοι, ὅτι ἐπεὶ με Ζεὺς ἔδωκέ τοι, τὸ ἂν ὀρῶ σφάλμα ἐὼν οἴκῳ τῷ σῷ,

“κατὰ δύναμιν ἀποτρέψειν. τὰ δέ μοι παθήματα, ἔοντα
 “ἀχάρита, μαθήματα γέγονεε. Εἰ μὲν ἀθάνατος δοκέεις
 “εἶναι, καὶ στρατιῆς τοιαύτης ἄρχειν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη πρῆγ-
 “μα γνώμας ἐμέ σοι ἀποφαίνεσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἔγνωκας ὅτι
 “ἄνθρωπος καὶ σὺ εἰς, καὶ ἐτέρων τοιῶνδε ἄρχεις, ἐκείνο
 “πρῶτον μάθε, ὥς κύκλος τῶν ἀνθρωπῆτων ἐστὶ πρηγμά-
 “των· περιφερόμενος δὲ, οὐκ ἔῃ αἰεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐτυ-
 “χέειν. ἤδη ὦν ἐγὼ γνώμην ἔχω περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου
 “πρήγματος τὰ ἔμπαιιν ἢ οὗτοι. εἰ γὰρ ἐβελήσομεν
 “ἐσδέξασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τὴν χώραν, ὅδε τοι ἐν
 “αὐτῷ κίνδυνος ἐνι ἐσσωθείς μὲν, προσαπολλύεις πᾶσαν
 “τὴν ἀρχήν· δηλα γὰρ δὴ, ὅτι νικῶντες Μασσαγέται
 “οὐ τὸ ὀπίσω φεύξονται, ἀλλ’ ἐπ’ ἀρχὰς τὰς σὰς ἐλώσι.
 “νικῶν δὲ, οὐ νικᾷς τοσούτον, ὅσον εἰ διαβάς ἐς τὴν
 “ἐκείνων, νικῶν Μασσαγέτας, ἔποιο φεύγουσι· τῷτ’ οὖν γὰρ
 “ἀντιθήσω ἐκείνῳ, ὅτι νικήσας τοὺς ἀντιουμένους ἐλᾷς
 “ἰθὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Τομύριος. Χωρὶς τε τοῦ ἀπηγημέ-
 “νου, αἰσχροὶ καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετοὶ, Κύρον γε τὸν Καμβύσεω
 “γυναικὶ εἵξαντα ὑποχωρήσαι τῆς χώρας. Νῦν ὦν μοι
 “δοκέει, διαβάντας προελθεῖν ὅσον ἂν ἐκείνοι διεξίωσι
 “ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τάδε ποιεῦντας, πειρᾶσθαι ἐκείνων περι-
 “γενέσθαι. ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, Μασσαγέται εἰσὶ
 “ἀγαθῶν τε Περσικῶν ἄπειροι, καὶ καλῶν μεγάλων ἀπα-
 “θές. τούτοισι ὦν τοῖσι ἀνδράσι, τῶν προβάτων ἀφει-
 “δέως πολλὰ κατακόψαντας, καὶ σκευάσαντας, προθεΐναι
 “ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ δαῖτα· πρὸς δὲ, καὶ κρη-
 “τῆρας ἀφειδέως οἴνου ἀκρήτου, καὶ σιτία παντοῖα.
 “ποιήσαντας δὲ ταῦτα, ὑπολειπομένους τῆς στρατιῆς τὸ
 “φλαυρότατον, τοὺς λοιποὺς αὐτῆς ἐξαναχωρέειν ἐπὶ τὸν
 “ποταμόν. ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ γνώμης μὴ ἀμάρτω, κείνοι ἰδόμε-
 “νοι ἀγαθὰ πολλὰ, τρέφονται τε πρὸς αὐτὰ, καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ
 “ἐνθεῦτεν λείπεται ἀπόδεξις ἔργων μεγάλων.”

Γινώμαι μὲν αὗται συνέστασαν. Κύρος δὲ, μετεῖς τὴν 208
 προτέραν γνώμην, τὴν Κροΐσου δὲ ἐλόμενος, προηγόρευε
 Τομύρι ἐξαναχωρέειν, ὥς αὐτοῦ διαβησομένου ἐπ’ ἐκείνην.
 ἡ μὲν δὲ ἐξαναχώρεε, κατὰ ὑπέσχετο πρῶτα. Κύρος δὲ,
 Κροΐσον ἐς τὰς χεῖρας ἐσθεὶς τῷ ἐωυτοῦ παιδί Καμβύσῃ,
 τῷ περ τὴν βασιληήν ἐδίδου, καὶ πολλὰ ἐντειλάμενός οἱ

- τιμᾶν τε αὐτὸν καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν, ἣν ἡ διάβασις ἡ ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας μὴ ὀρθωθῇ· ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος, καὶ ἀποστείλας τοὺτους ἐς Πέρσας, αὐτὸς διέβαινε τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ ὁ
 209 στρατὸς αὐτοῦ. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐπεραιώθη τὸν Ἀράξα, νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης, εἶδε ὄψιν, εὐδων ἐν τῶν Μασσαγετέων τῇ χώρῃ, τοιήνδε. ἐδόκεε ὁ Κῦρος ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ὁρᾶν τῶν Ὑστάσπεος παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας· καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην, τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. Ὑστάσπεϊ δὲ τῷ Ἀρσάμεος, εἰσὶν ἀνδρὶ Ἀχαιμενίδῃ, ἣν τῶν παίδων Δαρεῖος πρεσβύτατος, ὥν τότε ἡλικίην ἐς εἴκοσιν κου μάλιστα ἔτα. καὶ οὗτος καταλέλειπτο ἐν Πέρσῃσι· οὐ γὰρ εἶχε κω ἡλικίην στρατεῦσθαι. ἐπεὶ ὦν δὴ ἐξεγέρθη ὁ Κῦρος, ἐδίδου λόγον ἐωυτῷ περὶ τῆς ὄψιος. ὥς δὲ οἱ ἐδόκεε μεγάλη εἶναι ἡ ὄψις, καλέσας Ὑστάσπεα, καὶ ἀπολαβὼν μῦνον, εἶπε·
 “Ὑστάσπεες, παῖς σὸς ἐπιβουλεύων ἐμοὶ τε καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ἀρχῇ ἑάλωκε· ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἀτρεκέως οἶδα, ἐγὼ σημανέω.
 “ἐμεῦ θεοὶ κήδονται, καὶ μοι πάντα προδεικνύουσι τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα· ἤδη ὦν ἐν τῇ παροίχομένῃ νυκτὶ εὐδων,
 “εἶδον τῶν σῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας· καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην, τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. οὐκὼν ἐστὶ μηχανὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψιος ταύτης οὐδεμία, τὸ μὴ κεῖνον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐμοί.
 “σὺ τοίνυν τὴν ταχίστην πορεύεο ὀπίσω ἐς Πέρσας, καὶ ποίεε ὅκως ἐπεὰν ἐγὼ τάδε καταστρεφάμενος ἔλθω ἐκεῖ,
 210 “ὥς μοι καταστήσης τὸν παῖδα ἐς ἔλεγχον.” Κῦρος μὲν δοκέων Δαρεῖον οἱ ἐπιβουλεύειν, ἔλεγε τάδε· τῷ δὲ ὁ δαίμων προέφαινε, ὥς αὐτὸς μὲν τελευτήσῃ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ μέλλοι, ἡ δὲ βασιλητὴ αὐτοῦ περιχωρεῖ ἐς Δαρεῖον. Ἀμείβεται οἱ δὴ ὦν ὁ Ὑστάσπης τοῖσδε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ,
 “μὴ εἴῃ ἀνὴρ Πέρσης γεγονώς, ὅστις τοι ἐπιβουλεύσει· εἰ δ’ ἔστι, ἀπόλοιτο ὥς τάχιστα· ὃς ἀντὶ μὲν δούλων, ἐποίησας ἐλευθέρους Πέρσας εἶναι· ἀντὶ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ’ ἄλλων, ἄρχειν ἀπάντων. εἰ δέ τίς τοι ὄψις ἀπαγγέλλει παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν νεώτερα βουλεύειν περὶ σέο, ἐγὼ τοι παραδίδωμι χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ τοῦτο ὅ τι σὺ βούλῃαι.” Ὑστάσπης μὲν τούτοις ἀμειψάμενος, καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἀράξα, ἦε ἐς Πέρσας, φυλάξων Κῦρῳ τὸν παῖδα Δαρεῖον.

Κῦρος δὲ προελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀράξεω ἡμέρης ὁδόν, 211
ἐποίει τὰς Κροίσου ὑποθήκας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Κῦρου τε
καὶ Περσέων τοῦ καθαροῦ στρατοῦ ἀπελάσαντος ὀπίσω
ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα, λειφθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀχρηίου, ἐπελθοῦσα
τῶν Μασσαγετέων τριτημορις τοῦ στρατοῦ, τοὺς τε λει-
φθέντας τῆς Κῦρου στρατιῆς ἐφόνευε ἀλεξομένους, καὶ τὴν
προκειμένην ἰδόντες δαίτα, ὡς ἐχειρώσαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους
κλιθέντες δαίνυντο· πληρωθέντες δὲ φορβῆς καὶ οἴνου,
εὖδον. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες πολλοὺς μὲν σφεν
ἐφόνευσαν, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας ἐξώγρησαν, καὶ ἄλλους,
καὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖδα, στρατηγέοντα
Μασσαγετέων, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Σπαργαπίσης. Ἡ δὲ, 212
πυθομένη τὰ τε περὶ τὴν στρατιὴν γεγονότα καὶ τὰ περὶ
τὸν παῖδα, πέμπουσα κήρυκα παρὰ Κῦρον, ἔλεγε τάδε·
“Ἀπληστε αἵματος Κῦρε, μηδὲν ἐπαρθῆς τῷ γεγονότι
“τῷδε πρήγματι, εἰ ἀμπελίνῳ καρπῷ, τῷπερ αὐτοὶ ἐμπι-
“πλάμενοι μαίνεσθε οὕτω, ὥστε κατιόντος τοῦ οἴνου ἐς
“τὸ σῶμα, ἐπαναπλώειν ὑμῖν ἔπεα κακὰ, τοιούτῳ φαρ-
“μάκῳ δολώσας, ἐκράτησας παιδὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ
“μάχῃ κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν. νῦν ὦν μεν εὖ παραινέουσῃς
“ὑπόλαβε τὸν λόγον. ἀποδοὺς μοι τὸν παῖδα, ἅπιθι ἐκ
“τῆσδε τῆς χώρας ἀζήμιος, Μασσαγετέων τριτημορίδι
“τοῦ στρατοῦ κατυβρίσας. εἰ δὲ μὴ ταῦτα σὺ ποιήσεις,
“ἥλιον ἐπόμενυμί τοι τὸν Μασσαγετέων δεσπότην, ἢ μὴν
“σέ ἐγὼ, καὶ ἅπληστον ἐόντα, αἵματος κορέσω.” Κῦρος 213
μὲν νυν τῶν ἐπέων οὐδένα τούτων ἀνενευχθέντων ἐποιέετο
λόγον. ὁ δὲ τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖς Σπαργαπίσης,
ὥς μιν ὁ τε οἶνος ἀνῆκε, καὶ ἔμαθε ἵνα ἦν κακοῦ, δεηθεὶς
Κῦρου ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν λυθῆναι, ἔτυχε· ὥς δὲ ἐλύθη τε
τάχιστα καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκράτησε, διεργάζεται ἐωυτόν.
καὶ δὴ οὗτος μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ τελευτᾷ. Τόμυρις δὲ, 214
ὥς οἱ ὁ Κῦρος οὐκ ἐσήκουσε, συλλέξασα πᾶσαν τὴν
ἐωυτῆς δύναμιν, συνέβαλε Κῦρι. ταύτην τὴν μάχην,
ὅσαι δὴ βαρβάρων ἀνδρῶν μάχαι ἐγένοντο, κρίνω ἰσχυρο-
τάτην γενέσθαι· καὶ δὴ καὶ πυνθάνομαι οὕτω τοῦτο γενό-
μενον. πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ λέγεται αὐτοὺς διαστάντας ἐς ἀλ-
λήλους τοξεύειν μετὰ δὲ, ὡς σφι τὰ βέλεα ἐξετετόξευτο,
συμπεσόντας τῇσι αἰχμῇσί τε καὶ τοῖσι ἐγχειριδίοισι

συνέχεσθαι χρόνον τε δὴ ἐπὶ πολλὸν συνεστάναι μαχομένους, καὶ οὐδετέρους ἐθέλειν φεύγειν· τέλος δὲ, οἱ Μασσαγέται περιεγενέατο· ἢ τε δὴ πολλὴ τῆς Περσικῆς στρατιῆς αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διεφθάρη, καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Κύρος τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας τὰ πάντα ἑνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα ἔτεα. ἄσκον δὲ πλήσασα αἵματος ἀνθρωπηίου Τόμυρις, ἐδίξητο ἐν τοῖσι τεθνεώσι τῶν Περσέων τὸν Κύρου νέκυν. ὥς δὲ εὔρε, ἐναπήπτε αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὸν ἄσκον· λυμαينوμένη δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ, ἐπέλεγε τάδε· “Σὺ μὲν ἐμὲ “ζώουσάν τε καὶ νικῶσάν σε μάχῃ ἀπώλεσας, παῖδα τὸν “ἐμὸν ἐλὼν δόλω· σέ δ’ ἐγὼ, κατὰπερ ἠπέλησα, αἵματος “κορέσω.” Τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν Κύρου τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, πολλῶν λόγων λεγομένων, ὅδε μοι ὁ πιθανώτατος εἴρηται.

- 215 Μασσαγέται δὲ ἐσθῆτά τε ὁμοίην τῇ Σκυθικῇ φορέουσι, καὶ δίαυται ἔχουσι. ἵππῳται δὲ εἰσι καὶ ἀνιπποί, (ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ μετέχουσι,) καὶ τοξόται τε καὶ αἰχμοφόροι, σαγάρεις νομίζοντες ἔχειν. χρυσῷ δὲ καὶ χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται· ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἐς αἰχμᾶς, καὶ ἄρδεις, καὶ σαγάρεις, χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται· ὅσα δὲ περὶ κεφαλὴν, καὶ ζωστήρας, καὶ μασχαλιστήρας, χρυσῷ κοσμέονται. ὥς δ’ αὐτως τῶν ἵππων τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ στέρνα, χαλκέους θώρηκας περιβάλλουσι· τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς χαλινοὺς καὶ στόμια καὶ φάλαρα, χρυσῷ. σιδήρῳ δὲ οὐδ’ ἀργύρῳ χρέωνται οὐδέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ σφί ἐστι ἐν τῇ
- 216 χώρῃ· ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς καὶ ὁ χαλκὸς, ἄπλετος. Νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται τοιοῖσδε· γυναῖκα μὲν γαμέει ἕκαστος, ταύτῃσι δὲ ἐπὶκοῖνα χρέωνται. ὁ γὰρ Σκύθας φασὶ “Ἕλληνες ποιεῖν, οὐ Σκύθαι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιέοντες, ἀλλὰ Μασσαγέται· τῆς γὰρ ἐπιθυμήσει γυναικὸς Μασσαγέτης ἀνὴρ, τὸν φαρρετρώνα ἀποκρεμάσας πρὸ τῆς ἀμάξης, μίσγεται ἀδεῶς. Οὖρος δὲ ἡλικίῃς σφί προκέεται ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς· ἐπεὰν δὲ γέρων γένηται κάρτα, οἱ προσήκοντές οἱ πάντες συνελθόντες θύουσὶ μιν, καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα ἅμα αὐτῷ· ἐψήσαντες δὲ τὰ κρέα, κατεωχέονται. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ὀλβιώτατά σφί νενομίσται. τὸν δὲ νοῦσῳ τελευτήσαντα οὐ κατασιτέονται, ἀλλὰ γῇ κρύπτουσι, συμφορὴν ποιούμενοι, ὅτι οὐκ ἔκετο ἐς τὸ τυθῆναι. Σπείρουσι δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ

ἀπὸ κτηνέων ζώουσι καὶ ἰχθύων· οἱ δὲ, ἄφθονοί σφι ἐκ τοῦ Ἀράξεω ποταμοῦ παραγίνονται· γαλακτοπόται δὲ εἰσί. Θεῶν δὲ μόνον ἥλιον σέβονται, τῷ θύουσι ἵππους. νόμος δὲ οὗτος τῆς θυσίης· τῶν θεῶν τῷ ταχίστῳ, πάντων τῶν θνητῶν τὸ τάχιστον δατέονται.

ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ Α.

ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΗ.

ΕΥΤΕΡΠΗ.

1 ✓ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΣΑΝΤΟΣ δὲ Κύρου, παρέλαβε τὴν βασι-
λήην Καμβύσης, Κύρου ἑὸν παῖς καὶ Κασσανδάνης, τῆς
Φαρνάσπεω θυγατρός· τῆς προαποθανούσης, Κύρος αὐτός
τε μέγα πένθος ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι προεῖπε
πᾶσι, τῶν ἦρχε, πένθος ποιέεσθαι. ταύτης δὲ τῆς γυναι-
κὸς ἑὸν παῖς καὶ Κύρου Καμβύσης, Ἴωνας μὲν καὶ
Αἰολέας ὡς δούλους πατρῷους ἔοντας ἐνόμιζε· ἐπὶ δὲ
Αἴγυπτον ἐποιέετο στρατηλασίην, ἄλλους τε παραλαβὼν
τῶν ἦρχε, καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἑλλήνων, τῶν ἐπεκράτεε.

2 Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι, πρὶν μὲν ἢ Ψαμμίτιχον σφέων
βασιλεῦσαι, ἐνόμιζον ἑωυτοὺς πρῶτους γενέσθαι πάντων
ἀνθρώπων. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ψαμμίτιχος βασιλεύσας ἠθέλησε
εἰδέναι οἳ τινες γενοῖατο πρῶτοι, ἀπὸ τούτου νομίζουσι
Φρύγας προτέρους γενέσθαι ἑωυτῶν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἑωυ-
τούς. Ψαμμίτιχος δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο πυνθανόμενος
πόρον οὐδένα τούτου ἀνευρεῖν, οἳ γενοῖατο πρῶτοι ἀνθρώ-
πων, ἐπιτεχνᾷται τοιόνδε. Παιδιά δύο νεογνὰ ἀνθρώπων
τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων διδοῖ ποιμένι τρέφειν ἐς τὰ ποιμνία
τροφὴν τινα τοιήνδε· ἐντειλάμενος μηδένα ἀντίον αὐτῶν
μηδεμίαν φωνὴν ἰέναι, ἐν στέγῃ δὲ ἐρήμῃ ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν
κέεσθαι αὐτὰ, καὶ τὴν ὥρην ἐπαγινέειν σφι αἰγας· πλή-
σάντα δὲ τοῦ γάλακτος, τὰλλα διαπρήσσεσθαι. ταῦτα δ'
ἐποίεε τε καὶ ἐνετέλλετο ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος, θέλων ἀκοῦσαι
τῶν παιδίων, ἀπαλλαχθέντων τῶν ἀσῆμων κνυζημάτων,
ἥντινα φωνὴν ῥήξουσι πρῶτην. τάπερ ὦν καὶ ἐγένετο.
ὥς γὰρ διέτης χρόνος ἐγεγόνεε ταῦτα τῷ ποιμένι πρήσ-
σονται, ἀνοίγοντι τὴν θύρην καὶ ἐσιόντι τὰ παιδιά ἀμφό-
τερα προσπίπτοντα βεκὸς ἐφώνεον, ὀρέγοντα τὰς χεῖρας.

τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα ἀκούσας, ἥσυχος ἦν ὁ ποιμήν. ὥς δὲ
πολλάκι φοιτέοντι καὶ ἐπιμελομένῳ πολλὸν ἦν τοῦτο
τὸ ἔπος, οὕτω δὴ σημήνας τῷ δεσπότῃ, ἤγαγε τὰ παῖδια
κελεύσαντος ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐκείνου. ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ
Ψαμμίτιχος, ἐπυνθάνετο οἵτινες ἀνθρώπων βεκὸς τί καλέ-
ουσι. πυνθανόμενος δὲ, εὔρισκε Φρύγας καλέοντας τὸν
ἄρτου. οὕτω συνεχώρησαν Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ τοιούτῳ στα-
θμισάμενοι πρήγματι, τοὺς Φρύγας πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι
ἑαυτῶν. Ὡδε μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν ἱρέων τοῦ Ἡφάλστου ἐν 3
Μέμφι ἤκουον. Ἕλληνες δὲ λέγουσι ἄλλα τε μάταια
πολλά, καὶ ὥς γυναικῶν τὰς γλώσσας ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος ἐκ-
ταμὼν, τὴν δίαίταν οὕτως ἐποίησατο τῶν παίδων παρὰ
ταύτῃσι τῇσι γυναιξί. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν τροφήν τῶν παί-
δων τοσαῦτα ἔλεγον. Ἦκουσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐν Μέμφι,
ἐλθὼν ἐς λόγους τοῖσι ἱερεῦσι τοῦ Ἡφάλστου. καὶ δὴ καὶ
ἐς Θήβας τε καὶ ἐς Ἡλιούπολιν αὐτῶν τούτων εἵνεκεν
ἐτραπόμην, ἐθέλων εἰδέναι εἰ συμβήσονται τοῖσι λόγοισι
τοῖσι ἐν Μέμφι. οἱ γὰρ Ἡλιουπολῖται λέγονται Αἰγυ-
πτίων εἶναι λογιώτατοι. Τὰ μὲν νυν θεία τῶν ἀπηγημά-
των οἷα ἤκουον, οὐκ εἰμὶ πρόθυμὸς ἐξηγήεσθαι, ἔξω ἢ τὰ
συνόματα αὐτῶν μόνον· νομίζων πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἴσον
περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπίστασθαι· τὰ δ' ἂν ἐπιμνησθῶ αὐτῶν, ὑπὸ
τοῦ λόγου ἐξαναγκαζόμενος ἐπιμνησθήσομαι.

Ὅσα δὲ ἀνθρωπήϊα πρήγματα, ὧδε ἔλεγον ὁμολο- 4
γέοντες σφίσι. Πρώτους Αἰγυπτίους ἀνθρώπων ἀπάν-
των ἐξευρέειν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, δωδέκα μέρεα δασαμένους
τῶν ὥρέων ἐς αὐτόν. ταῦτα δὲ ἐξευρέειν ἐκ τῶν ἀστρῶν
ἔλεγον. ἄγουσι δὲ τοσῶδε σοφώτερον Ἑλλήνων, ἐμοὶ
δοκέειν, ὅσῳ Ἕλληνες μὲν διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος ἐμβόλιμον
ἐπεμβάλλουσι, τῶν ὥρέων εἵνεκεν· Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ τριηκον-
τημέρους ἄγοντες τοὺς δωδέκα μῆνας, ἐπάγουσι ἀνὰ πᾶν
ἔτος πέντε ἡμέρας πάρεξ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, καὶ σφί ὁ κύκλος
τῶν ὥρέων ἐς τὸν αὐτὸ περιῶν παραγίνεται. Δωδέκα τε
θεῶν ἐπωνυμίας ἔλεγον πρώτους Αἰγυπτίους νομίσαι, καὶ
Ἕλληνας παρὰ σφέων ἀναλαβεῖν. βωμούς τε καὶ ἀγάλ-
ματα καὶ νηοὺς θεοῖσι ἀπονεῖμαι σφέας πρώτους, καὶ ζῶα
ἐν λίθοις ἐγγλῆναι. καὶ τούτων μὲν νυν τὰ πλέω ἔργα
ἐδήλουν οὕτω γενόμενα. Βασιλεύσαι δὲ πρώτων Αἰγύπτου

ἀνθρώπων ἔλεγον Μῆνα. ἐπὶ τούτου, πλὴν τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ νομοῦ, πᾶσαν Αἰγύπτου εἶναι ἔλος· καὶ αὐτῆς εἶναι οὐδὲν ὑπερέχον τῶν νῦν ἐνερθε λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος ἑόντων· ἐς τὴν ἀνάπλους ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἑπτὰ ἡμερέων ἐστὶ
 5 ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμόν. Καὶ εὖ μοι ἐδόκεον λέγειν περὶ τῆς χώρας. δῆλα γὰρ δὴ καὶ μὴ προακούσαντι, ἰδόντι δέ, ὅστις γε σύνεσιν ἔχει, ὅτι Αἰγύπτως, ἐς τὴν Ἑλληνες ναυτίλλονται, ἔστι Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐπικτητός τε γῆ, καὶ δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ τὰ κατύπερθε ἔτι τῆς λίμνης ταύτης, μέχρι τριῶν ἡμερέων πλοῦ, τῆς πέρι ἐκείνοι οὐδὲν ἔτι τοιόνδε ἔλεγον, ἔστι δ' ἕτερον τοιούτου.

Αἰγύπτου γὰρ φύσις τῆς χώρας ἐστὶ τοιήδε. Πρῶτα μὲν προσπλέων, ἔτι καὶ ἡμέρης δρόμον ἀπέχων ἀπὸ γῆς, κατεῖς καταπειρητηρίην, πηλὸν τε ἀνοίσεις, καὶ ἐν ἑνδεκα ὀργυίῃσι ἔσεαι. τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δηλοῖ πρόχυσιν
 6 τῆς γῆς ἐοῦσαν. Αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐστὶ μῆκος τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν, ἐξήκοντα σχοῖνοι, κατὰ ἡμέες διαιρέομεν εἶναι Αἰγύπτου ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλινθινήτεω κόλπου μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, παρ' ἣν τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει ταύτης ὧν ἅπο οἱ ἐξήκοντα σχοῖνοί εἰσι. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ γεωπεῖναι εἰσι ἀνθρώπων, ὀργυιῇσι μεμετρήκασιν τὴν χώραν· ὅσοι δὲ ἦσσαν γεωπεῖναι, σταδίοισι· οἱ δὲ πολλὰν ἔχουσι, παρασάγγῃσι· οἱ δὲ ἄφθονον λίην, σχοῖνοισι. δύναται δὲ ὁ μὲν παρασάγγης τριήκοντα στάδια· ὁ δὲ σχοῖνος ἕκαστος, μέτρον ἐὼν Αἰγύπτιον, ἐξήκοντα στάδια. οὕτω ἂν εἶησαν Αἰγύπτου στάδιοι ἑξακόσιοι καὶ τρισχι-
 7 λιοι, τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. Ἐνθεῦτεν μὲν καὶ μέχρι Ἡλιουπόλιος ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, ἔστι εὐρέα Αἰγυπτως, ἐοῦσα πᾶσα ὑπτίη τε καὶ ἄνδρος, καὶ ἱλὺς. ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἐς τὴν Ἡλιούπολιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω ἰόντι, παραπλησίη τὸ μῆκος τῇ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὁδῷ, τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν δυνάδεκα θεῶν τοῦ βωμοῦ φερούσῃ ἕς τε Πίσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν νηὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου. σμικρόν τι τὸ διάφορον εὔροι τις ἂν λογιζόμενος τῶν ὁδῶν τούτων, τὸ μὴ ἴσας μῆκος εἶναι, οὐ πλεον πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων· ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἐς Πίσαν ἐξ Ἀθηνέων, καταδεῖ πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων, ὡς μὴ εἶναι πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων· ἢ δὲ ἐς Ἡλιούπολιν
 8 ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, πληροὶ ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τούτον. Ἀπὸ δὲ

Ηλιουπόλιος ἄνω ἰόντι, στεινή ἐστι Αἴγυπτος. τῇ μὲν γὰρ, τῆς Ἀραβίης ὄρος παρατέταται, φέρον ἀπ' ἄρκτου πρὸς μεσαμβρίας τε καὶ νότου, αἰεὶ ἄνω τείνον ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην θάλασσαν· ἐν τῷ αἰ λιθοτομῖαι ἔνιαι, αἱ ἐς τὰς πυραμίδας κατατμηθεῖσαι τὰς ἐν Μέμφι. ταύτῃ μὲν λῆγον ἀνακάμπει ἐς τὰ εἴρηται τὸ ὄρος· τῇ δὲ αὐτὸ ἐνωτοῦ ἐστὶ μακρότατον, ὥς ἐγὼ ἐπυνθανόμην, δύο μνηῶν αὐτὸ εἶναι τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπὸ ἡοῦς πρὸς ἐσπέρην· τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ, λιβανωτοφόρα αὐτοῦ τὰ τέρματα εἶναι. τοῦτο μὲν νυν τὸ ὄρος τοιοῦτο ἐστὶ. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς Λιβύης τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ὄρος ἄλλο πέτρινον τείνει, ἐν τῷ αἰ πυραμίδες ἔνιαι, ψάμμω κατελυμένον, τεταμένον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τὸν καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου τὰ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην φέρονται. Τὸ ὦν δὴ ἀπὸ Ἡλιουπόλιος, οὐκέτι πολλὸν χωρίον, ὥς εἶναι Αἰγύπτου· ἀλλ' ὅσον τε ἡμερέων τεσσέρων ἀναπλόου στεινή ἐστι Αἴγυπτος ἐοῦσα. τῶν δὲ οὐρέων τῶν εἰρημένων τὸ μεταξὺ, πεδιάς μὲν γῆ· στάδιοι δὲ μάλιστα ἐδόκεόν μοι εἶναι, τῇ στεινότητι ἐστὶ, διηκοσίων οὐ πλείους, ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραβίου οὔρεος ἐς τὸ Λιβυκὸν καλεῖμενον. τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν αὐτὶς εὐρέα Αἴγυπτός ἐστι. Πέφυκε μὲν νυν ἡ χώρα αὕτη οὕτω. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλιουπόλιος 9 ἐς Θήβας, ἐστὶ ἀνάπλος ἐννέα ἡμερέων· στάδιοι δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἐξήκοντα καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι, σχοίνων ἑνὸς καὶ ὀγδώκοντα ἑόντων. οὗτοι συντιθέμενοι οἱ στάδιοι Αἰγύπτου, τὸ μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν, ἤδη μοι καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται ὅτι ἑξακοσίων τέ ἐστι σταδίων καὶ τρισχιλίων· ὅσον δέ τι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς μεσόγαιαν μέχρι Θηβέων ἐστὶ, σημανέω. στάδιοι γὰρ εἴσι ἑικοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Θηβέων ἐς Ἐλεφαντίνην καλεομένην πόλιν, στάδιοι χίλιοι καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι εἴσι.

Ταύτης ὦν τῆς χώρας τῆς εἰρημένης ἡ πολλή, κατὰ 10 περ οἱ ἱρέες ἔλεγον, ἐδόκεε δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ μοι εἶναι ἐπίκτητος Αἰγυπτίοισι. τῶν γὰρ οὐρέων τῶν εἰρημένων τῶν ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν πόλιν κειμένων τὸ μεταξὺ ἐφαίνεται μοι εἶναι κοτε κόλπος θαλάσσης, ὥσπερ γε τὰ περὶ Ἴλιον καὶ Τευθρανίνην, καὶ Ἐφεσὸν τε καὶ Μαϊάνδρου πεδίον· ὥστε εἶναι σμικρὰ ταῦτα μεγάλοισι συμβαλέειν. τῶν

- γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία προσχωσάντων ποταμῶν, ἐνὶ τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου, ἐόντος πενταστόμου, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν πλήθεος πέρι ἄξιος συμβληθῆναι ἐστὶ. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοὶ οὐ κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ἐόντες μεγάλα, οἳ τινες ἔργα ἀποδεξάμενοι μεγάλα εἰσὶ τῶν ἐγὼ φράσαι ἔχω οὐνόματα, καὶ ἄλλων, καὶ οὐκ ἦκιστα Ἀχελῶον· ὃς ῥέων δι' Ἀκαρνανίης, καὶ ἐξιεὶς ἐς θάλασσαν, τῶν Ἐχινάδων
- 11 νήσων τὰς ἡμίσεας ἤδη ἠπειρον πεποίηκε. Ἔστι δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίης χώρας, Αἰγύπτου δὲ οὐ πρόσω, κόλπος θαλάσσης ἐσέχων ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης, μακρὸς οὕτω δὴ τι καὶ στεινός, ὥς ἔρχομαι φράσω. μῆκος μὲν πλόου, ἄρξαμένῳ ἐκ μυχοῦ διεκπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν εὐρέην θάλασσαν, ἡμέραι ἀναισιμούνται τεσσεράκοντα, εἰρεσίῃ χρωμένῳ· εὐρος δὲ, τῇ εὐρύτατός ἐστι ὁ κόλπος, ἡμισυ ἡμέρης πλόου. ῥηχὴ δ' ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀμπωτις ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται. ἕτερον τοιοῦτον κόλπον καὶ τὴν Αἶγυπτον δοκέω γενέσθαι· τὸν μὲν, ἐκ τῆς βορηῆς θαλάσσης κόλπον ἐσέχοντα ἐπὶ Αἰθιοπίας· τὸν δὲ [Ἀράβιον, τὸν ἔρχομαι λέξω,] ἐκ τῆς νοτίας φέροντα ἐπὶ Συρίας· σχεδὸν μὲν ἀλλήλοισι συντετραίνοντας τοὺς μυχοὺς, ὀλίγον δὲ τι παραλλάσσοντας τῆς χώρας. εἰ ὦν δὴ ἐθελήσει ἐκτρέψαι τὸ ῥέεθρον ὁ Νεῖλος ἐς τοῦτον τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον, τί μιν κωλύει ῥέοντος τούτου ἐκχωσθῆναι ἐντὸς γε δισμυρίων ἐτέων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἔλπομαι γε καὶ μυρίων ἐντὸς χωσθῆναι ἂν. κοῦ γε δὴ, ἐν τῷ προαναισιμωμένῳ χρόνῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐμὲ γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἂν χωσθεῖν κόλπος καὶ πολλῶ μέζων ἔτι τούτου, ὑπὸ τοσούτου τε ποταμοῦ
- 12 καὶ οὕτως ἐργατικοῦ; Τὰ περὶ Αἶγυπτον ὦν καὶ τοῖσι λέγουσι αὐτὰ πείθομαι, καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτω κάρτα δοκέω εἶναι, ἰδὼν τε τὴν Αἶγυπτον προκειμένην τῆς ἐχομένης γῆς, κογχύλιά τε φαινόμενα ἐπὶ τοῖσι οὖρεσι, καὶ ἄλμην ἐπανθέουσιν, ὥστε καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας δηλέεσθαι· καὶ ψάμμον μόνον Αἰγύπτου ὅρος τοῦτο τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος ἔχον· πρὸς δὲ, τῇ χώρῃ οὔτε τῇ Ἀραβίῃ προσούρω εὐούση τὴν Αἶγυπτον προσεικέλην, οὔτε τῇ Λιβύῃ, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῇ Συρίῃ, (τῆς γὰρ Ἀραβίης τὰ παρὰ θάλασσαν Σύριοι νέμονται,) ἀλλὰ μελάγγαιόν τε καὶ κατερορρηγμένην, ὥστε εὐούσαν ἰλύν τε καὶ πρόχυσιν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας

κατενηνευγμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. τὴν δὲ Λιβύην ἴδμεν ἐρυθροτέρην τε γῆν, καὶ ὑποψαμμοτέρην· τὴν δὲ Ἀραβίην τε καὶ Συρίην ἀργιλωδεστέραν τε καὶ ὑπόπετρον εἶδυσαν.

Ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ τότε μοι μέγα τεκμήριον περὶ τῆς 13
 χώρας ταύτης οἱ ἱρέες, ὡς ἐπὶ Μοίριος βασιλέος, ὅπως ἔλθοι ὁ ποταμὸς ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ πήχεας τὸ ἐλάχιστον, ἄρδεσκε Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἔνερθε Μέμφιος. καὶ Μοίρι οὐκ ἦν ἔτεα εἰνακόσια τετελευτηκότι, ὅτε τῶν ἱρέων ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἤκουον. νῦν δὲ, ἦν μὴ ἐπ' ἑκκαίδεκα ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα πήχεας ἀναβῇ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὁ ποταμὸς, οὐκ ὑπερβαίνει ἐς τὴν χώραν. δοκέουσί τε μοι Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἔνερθε τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος οἰκέοντες τὰ τε ἄλλα χωρία καὶ τὸ καλεόμενον Δέλτα, ἦν οὕτω ἡ χώρα αὕτη κατὰ λόγον ἐπιδίδοι ἐς ὕψος, καὶ τὸ ὁμοῖον ἀποδίδοι ἐς αὐξησιν, μὴ κατακλύζοντος αὐτὴν τοῦ Νείλου πείσεσθαι τὸν πάντα χρόνον τὸν ἐπίλοιπον Αἰγύπτιοι, τό κοτε αὐτοὶ Ἕλληνας ἔφασαν πείσεσθαι. πυθόμενοι γὰρ ὡς ἔεται πᾶσα ἡ χώρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' οὐ ποταμοῖσι ἄρδεται, κατὰπερ ἡ σφετέρη, ἔφασαν “Ἕλληνας ψευσθέντας κοτὲ ἐλπίδος με-
 “γάλης, κακῶς πεινήσειν.” τὸ δὲ ἔπος τοῦτο ἐθέλει λέγειν, ὡς “εἰ μὴ ἐθελήσει σφι ἕιναι ὁ θεὸς, ἀλλ' αὐχμῶ
 “διαχρᾶσθαι, λιμῶ οἱ Ἕλληνες αἰρεθήσονται· οὐ γὰρ
 “δὴ σφι ἐστι ὕδατος οὐδεμία ἄλλη ἀποστροφὴ, ὅτι μὴ
 “ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς μόνον.” Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Ἕλληνας 14
 Αἰγυπτίοισι ὀρθῶς ἔχοντα εἴρηται. φέρε δὲ νῦν, καὶ αὐτοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι ὡς ἔχει, φράσω. εἰ σφι θέλοι, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, ἡ χώρα ἡ ἔνερθε Μέμφιος (αὕτη γάρ ἐστι ἡ αὐξανόμενη) κατὰ λόγον τοῦ παροικομένου χρόνου ἐς ὕψος αὐξάνεσθαι, ἄλλο τι ἢ οἱ ταύτῃ οἰκέοντες Αἰγυπτίων πεινήσουσι; εἰ μήτε γε ἕσεται σφι ἡ χώρα, μήτε ὁ ποταμὸς οἷός τ' ἔσται ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας ὑπερβαίνειν. Ἡ γὰρ δὴ νῦν γε οὗτοι ἀπουητότατα καρπὸν κομίζονται ἐκ γῆς, τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Αἰγυπτίων· οἱ οὔτε ἀρότρω ἀναρρηγνύντες αὐλακὰς ἔχουσι πόνους, οὔτε σκάλλοντες, οὔτε ἄλλο ἐργαζόμενοι οὐδὲν τῶν ὅλλοι ἀνθρωποὶ περὶ λήϊον πονέουσιν· ἀλλ' ἐπεὰν σφι ὁ ποταμὸς αὐτόματος ἐπελθὼν ἄρσῃ τὰς ἀρού-

ρας, ἄρσας δὲ ἀπολείπη ὀπίσω, τότε σπείρας ἕκαστος τὴν ἐωυτοῦ ἄρουραν, ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτὴν ὑς. ἐπεὰν δὲ καταπατήσῃ τῇσι ὑσὶ τὸ σπέρμα, ἄμητον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου μένει. ἀποδιωχσας δὲ τῇσι ὑσὶ τὸν σίτον, οὕτω κομίζεται.

- 15 Εἰ ὦν βουλόμεθα γνώμῃσι τῇσι Ἰώνων χρᾶσθαι τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον, οἳ φασὶ τὸ Δέλτα μόνον εἶναι Αἴγυπτον, ἀπὸ Περσέος καλεομένης σκοπιῆς λέγοντες τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν εἶναι αὐτῆς μέχρι Ταριχηῶν τῶν Πηλουσιακῶν, τῇ δὴ τεσσεράκοντά εἰσι σχοῖνοι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης λεγόντων ἐς μεσόγαιαν τείνειν αὐτὴν μέχρι Κερκασώρου πόλιος, κατ' ἣν σχίζεται ὁ Νεῖλος, ἐς τε Πηλούσιον ῥέων καὶ ἐς Κάνωβον· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα λεγόντων τῆς Αἰγύπτου, τὰ μὲν Λιβύης, τὰ δὲ Ἀραβίης εἶναι· ἀποδεικνύοιμεν ἂν, τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ χρεώμενοι, Αἰγυπτίοισι οὐκ ἐοῦσαν πρότερον χώραν. ἤδη γάρ σφι τό γε Δέλτα, ὡς αὐτοὶ λεγουσὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἔστι κατάρρυστον τε καὶ νεωστὶ, ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, ἀναπεφνηνός. εἰ τοίνυν σφι χώρα γε μηδεμία ὑπῆρχε, τί περιειργάζοντο δοκέοντες πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι; οὐδὲ ἔδει σφέας ἐς διάπειραν τῶν παιδίων ἵεναι, τίνα γλῶσσαν πρῶτην ἀπήσουσι. Ἄλλ' οὔτε Αἰγυπτίους δοκέω ἅμα τῷ Δέλτῳ τῷ ὑπ' Ἰώνων καλεομένῳ γενέσθαι, αἰεὶ τε εἶναι, ἐξ οὗ ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐγένετο· προϊούσης δὲ τῆς χώρας, πολλοὺς μὲν τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους αὐτῶν γενέσθαι, πολλοὺς δὲ τοὺς ὑποκαταβαίνοντας. τὸ δ' ὦν πάλαι αἱ Θῆβαι, Αἴγυπτος ἐκαλέετο· τῆς τὸ περίμετρον στάδιοι εἰσι εἴκοσι καὶ
- 16 ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι. Εἰ ὦν ἡμεῖς ὀρθῶς περὶ αὐτῶν γινώσκομεν, Ἴωνες οὐκ εὖ φρονέουσι περὶ Αἰγύπτου. εἰ δὲ ὀρθή ἐστι ἡ τῶν Ἰώνων γνώμη, Ἑλληνάς τε καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἴωνας ἀποδείκνυμι οὐκ ἐπισταμένους λογιζέσθαι· οἳ φασὶ τρία μόρια εἶναι γῆν πᾶσαν, Εὐρώπην τε καὶ Ἀσίην καὶ Λιβύην. τέταρτον γὰρ δὴ σφῆας δεῖ προσλογίζεσθαι, Αἰγύπτου τὸ Δέλτα· εἰ μὴ τι γέ ἐστι τῆς Ἀσίας, μήτε τῆς Λιβύης. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Νεῖλος γέ ἐστι, κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ὁ τὴν Ἀσίην οὐρίζων τῆς Λιβύης· τοῦ Δέλτα δὲ τούτου κατὰ τὸ ὀξὺ περιρρήγνυται ὁ Νεῖλος, ὥστε ἐν τῷ μεταξύ Ἀσίας τε καὶ Λιβύης γίνουσι ἂν.

Καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἰώνων γνώμην ἀπίεμεν· ἡμεῖς δὲ ὧδε 17
καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγομεν. Αἴγυπτον μὲν πᾶσαν εἶναι
ταύτην τὴν ὑπ' Αἴγυπτίων οἰκεομένην, κατὰπερ Κιλικίην
τὴν ὑπὸ Κιλικίων, καὶ Ἀσσυρίην τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων.
οὐρισμα δὲ Ἀσίῃ καὶ Λιβύῃ οἶδαμεν οὐδὲν ἔδον ὀρθῶ
λόγῳ, εἰ μὴ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίῳ οὐρους. εἰ δὲ τῷ ὑπ' Ἑλ-
λήνων νενομισμένῳ χρῆσόμεθα, νομιοῦμεν Αἴγυπτον
πᾶσαν, ἀρξαμένην ἀπὸ Καταδούπων τε καὶ Ἐλεφαντί-
νης πόλιος, δίχᾳ διαιρέεσθαι, καὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἐπωνυ-
μίων ἔχεισθαι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς εἶναι τῆς Λιβύης· τὰ
δὲ, τῆς Ἀσίας. ὁ γὰρ δὴ Νεῖλος ἀρξάμενος ἐκ τῶν Κατα-
δούπων, ῥέει, μέσσην Αἴγυπτον σχίζων, ἐς θάλασσαν.
μέχρι μὲν νυν Κερκασώρου πόλιος ῥέει εἰς ἑὸν ὁ Νεῖλος·
τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος, σχίζεται τριφασίας ὁδούς·
καὶ ἡ μὲν πρὸς ἡῶ τρέπεται, τὸ καλέεται Πηλούσιον
στόμα· ἡ δὲ ἑτέρῃ τῶν ὁδῶν πρὸς ἑσπέρην ἔχει· τοῦτο
δὲ Κανωβικὸν στόμα κέκληται. ἡ δὲ δὴ ἰθὺα τῶν ὁδῶν
τῷ Νεῖλῳ ἐστὶ ἥδε· ἄνωθεν φερόμενος, ἐς τὸ ὄξυ τοῦ
Δέλτα ἀπικνέεται· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου, σχίζων μέσον τὸ
Δέλτα, ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξίει, οὔτε ἐλαχίστην μοῖρην τοῦ
ὑδατος παρεχόμενος ταύτῃ, οὔτε ἥκιστα οὐνομαστήν· τὸ
καλέεται Σεβεννυτικὸν στόμα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερα διφάσια
στόματα, ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβεννυτικοῦ ἀποσχισθέντα, φέροντα
ἐς θάλασσαν· τοῖσι οὐνόματα κέεται τὰδε, τῷ μὲν Σαῖτι-
κὸν αὐτῶν, τῷ δὲ, Μενδήσιον. τὸ δὲ Βολβίτινον στόμα
καὶ τὸ Βουκολικὸν οὐκ ἰθαγενέα στόματά ἐστι, ἀλλ'
ἐρυκτά.

Μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῇ γνώμῃ, ὅτι τοσαύτη ἐστὶ Αἴγυ- 18
πτος ὅσην τινα ἐγὼ ἀποδείκνυμι τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ τὸ Ἄμμωνος
χρηστήριον γενόμενον· τὸ ἐγὼ τῆς ἐμεωντοῦ γνώμης
ὑστερον περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐπυθόμην. οἱ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ Μαρέης
τε πόλιος καὶ Ἄπιοις, οἰκέοντες Αἴγυπτον τὰ πρόσουρα
Λιβύῃ, αὐτοὶ τε δοκέοντες εἶναι Λίβυες, καὶ οὐκ Αἰγύ-
πτιοι, καὶ ἀχθόμενοι τῇ περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ θρησκίῃ, βουλόμενοι
θηλέων βοῶν μὴ ἔργεσθαι, ἔπεμψαν ἐς Ἄμμωνα, φάμενοι
“οὐδὲν σφίσι τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι κοινὸν εἶναι· οἰκέειν τε
“γὰρ ἔξω τοῦ Δέλτα, καὶ οὐκ ὁμολογέειν αὐτοῖσι· βούλε-
“σθαί τε πάντων σφίσι ἐξεῖναι γεύεσθαι.” ὁ δὲ θεός

σφεας οὐκ ἔα ποιεῖν ταῦτα, φὰς “ Αἴγυπτον εἶναι ταύ-
 “ την τὴν ὃ Νεῖλος ἐπιὼν ἄρδει· καὶ Αἰγυπτίους εἶναι
 “ τούτους, οἳ ἔνερθε Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος οἰκούντες, ἀπὸ
 19 “ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου πίνουσι.” οὕτω σφι ταῦτα ἐχρή-
 σθη. ἐπέρχεται δὲ ὁ Νεῖλος, ἐπεὰν πληθύνῃ, οὐ μόνον τὸ
 Δέλτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Λιβυκοῦ τε λεγομένου χώρου εἶναι,
 καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου, ἐνιαχὴ καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἡμερέων ἐκατέρωθι
 ὁδὸν, καὶ πλεῦν ἔτι τούτου, καὶ ἔλασσον.

Τοῦ ποταμοῦ δὲ φύσις περὶ, οὔτε τι τῶν ἱρέων, οὔτε
 ἄλλου οὐδενὸς παραλαβεῖν ἐδυνάσθη. πρόθυμος δὲ ἔα
 τὰδε παρ’ αὐτῶν πυνθεσθαι, ὅ τι κατέρχεται μὲν ὁ Νεῖλος
 πληθύνων, ἀπὸ τροπέων τῶν θερινέων ἀρξάμενος, ἐπὶ
 ἑκατὸν ἡμέρας· πελάσας δ’ ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τουτέων τῶν
 ἡμερέων, ὀπίσω ἀπέρχεται ἀπολείπων τὸ ῥέεθρον· ὥστε
 βραχὺς τὸν χειμῶνα ἅπαντα διατελεῖ ἐὼν, μέχρι οὗ
 αὐτὶς τροπέων τῶν θερινέων. τούτων ὧν περὶ οὐδενὸς
 οὐδὲν οἶός τ’ ἐγενόμην παραλαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων,
 ἱστορέων αὐτοὺς ἥντινα δύνανται ἔχει ὁ Νεῖλος τὰ ἐμπαλιν
 πεφυκέναι τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν. ταῦτά τε δὴ τὰ λελεγ-
 μένα βουλόμενος εἰδέναι, ἱστόρεον· καὶ ὅ τι αὐρας ἀπο-
 20 πνεούσας μόνος ποταμῶν πάντων οὐ παρέχεται. Ἀλλὰ
 Ἑλλήνων μὲν τινες, ἐπίσημοι βουλόμενοι γενέσθαι
 σοφίην, ἔλεξαν περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος τούτου τριφασίας ὁδοὺς·
 τῶν πὰς μὲν δύο τῶν ὁδῶν οὐδ’ ἀξιῶ μνησθῆναι, εἰ μὴ
 ὅσον σημῆναι βουλόμενος μόνον. τῶν ἡ ἐτέρῃ μὲν λέγει
 τοὺς ἐτησίας ἀνέμους εἶναι αἰτίους πληθύνειν τὸν ποταμὸν,
 κωλύοντας ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκρέειν τὸν Νεῖλον. Ἀπολλάκις
 δὲ ἐτησῖαι μὲν οὐκ ὧν ἐπνευσαν, ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος τῷτ’ ἐργά-
 ζεται. πρὸς δὲ, εἰ ἐτησῖαι αἵτιοι ἦσαν, χρῆν καὶ τοὺς
 ἄλλους ποταμοὺς, ὅσοι τοῖσι ἐτησίῃσι ἀντίοι ῥέουσιν,
 ὁμοίως πάσχειν καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Νεῖλῳ· καὶ μάλ-
 λον ἔτι τοσοῦτω, ὅσω ἔλασσονες ἔοντες, ἀσθενέστερα τὰ
 ῥεύματα παρέχονται. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ
 ποταμοὶ, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, οἳ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο πά-
 21 σχουσι οἷον τι καὶ ὁ Νεῖλος. Ἡ δ’ ἐτέρῃ ἀνεπιστημο-
 νεστέρῃ μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς λελεγμένης, λόγῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν θω-
 μασιωτέρεῃ ἢ λέγει ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ ῥέοντα αὐτὸν
 ταῦτα μηχανᾶσθαι, τὸν δ’ Ὠκεανὸν γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν

ρέειν. Ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν ὁδῶν, πολλὸν ἐπιεικεστάτη 22
 εἶδσα, μάλιστα ἔψευσται. λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὐδ' αὐτὴ οὐ-
 δὲν, φαμένη τὸν Νεῖλον ρέειν ἀπὸ τηκομένης χιόνος· ὃς
 ρέει μὲν ἐκ Λιβύης διὰ μέσων Αἰθιοπῶν, ἐκδιδοί δὲ ἐς
 Αἴγυπτον. κὼς ὦν δῆτα ρέει ἂν ἀπὸ χιόνος, ἀπὸ τῶν
 θερμοτάτων [τόπων] ρέων ἐς τὰ ψυχρότερα; τῶν τὰ
 πολλά ἐστι ἀνδρὶ γε λογίζεσθαι τοιούτων πέρι οἷω τε
 εἶναι, ὥς οὐδὲ εἰκὸς ἀπὸ χιόνος μιν ρέειν. πρῶτον μὲν
 καὶ μέγιστον μαρτύριον οἱ ἄνεμοι παρέχονται, πνέοντες
 ἀπὸ τῶν χωρίων τούτων θερμοί. δεύτερον δέ, ὅτι ἄνομ-
 βρος ἢ χῶρη καὶ ἀκρύσταλλος διατελεῖ εἶδσα· ἐπὶ δὲ
 χιόνι πεσοῦση, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ὕσαι ἐν πέντε ἡμέ-
 ρησι· ὥστε εἰ ἐχιόνιζε, ὕετο ἂν ταῦτα τὰ χωρία. τρίτα
 δέ, οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος μέλανες εἶναι· ἱκτινοὶ
 δὲ καὶ χελιδόνες δι' ἔτεος εἶναι οὐκ ἀπολείπουσι· γέ-
 ρανοι δὲ φεύγουσαι τὸν χειμῶνα τὸν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ χῶρῃ
 γινώσκοντες, φοιτῶσι ἐς χειμασίην ἐς τοὺς τόπους τού-
 τος· εἰ τοίνυν ἐχιόνιζε καὶ ὅσονων ταύτην τὴν χῶρην,
 δι' ἧς τε ρέει καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχεται ρέων ὁ Νεῖλος, ἦν ἂν
 τούτων οὐδὲν, ὥς ἡ ἀνάγκη ἐλέγχῃ. Ὁ δὲ περὶ τοῦ 23
 Ὀκεανοῦ λέξας, ἐς ἀφανὲς τὸν μῦθον ἀνενέικας, οὐκ ἔχει
 ἐλεγχον. οὐ γάρ τινα ἔγωγε οἶδα ποταμὸν Ὀκεανὸν
 εἶναι· Ὀμηρον δέ, ἢ τινα τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ποιη-
 τέων, δοκέω τοῦνομα εὐρόντα ἐς τὴν ποίησιν ἐσενεκα-
 σθαι.

Εἰ δὲ δεῖ μεμφάμενον γνώμας τὰς προκειμένας, αὐτὸν 24
 περὶ τῶν ἀφανέων γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι, φράσω διότι μοι
 δοκεῖ πληθύνεσθαι ὁ Νεῖλος τοῦ θέρεος. τὴν χειμερινὴν
 ὥρην ἀπελαυνόμενος ὁ ἥλιος ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας διεξό-
 δου ὑπὸ τῶν χειμῶνων, ἔρχεται τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω.
 ὥς μὲν νυν ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ δηλῶσαι, πᾶν εἴρηται· τῆς
 γὰρ ἂν ἀγχοτάτῳ ἢ χῶρης οὗτος ὁ θεὸς, καὶ κατὰ ἦν
 τινα, ταύτην οἰκὸς διψῆν τε ὑδάτων μάλιστα, καὶ τὰ
 ἐγχώρια ρεύματα μαραίνεσθαι τῶν ποταμῶν. Ὡς δὲ 25
 ἐν πλείονι λόγῳ δηλῶσαι, ὥδε ἔχει. διεξιὼν τῆς Λιβύης
 τὰ ἄνω ὁ ἥλιος, τὰδε ποιεῖ· ἅτε διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου
 αἰθρίου τε εἶντος τοῦ ἡέρος τοῦ κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία,
 καὶ ἀλεεινῆς τῆς χῶρης εὐούσης, οὐκ εἶντων ἀνέμων ψυ-

χρῶν, διεξιὼν ποιεῖει οἶον περ καὶ τὸ θέρος ἔωθε ποιεῖειν, ἰὼν τὸ μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Ἰέλκει γὰρ ἐπ' ἑωυτὸν τὸ ὕδωρ· ἐλκύσας δὲ, ἀπωθῆει ἐς τὰ ἄνω χωρία· ὑπολαμβάνοντες δὲ οἱ ἀνεμοὶ, καὶ διασκιδνάντες, τήκουσι· καὶ εἰσι οἰκότως οἱ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς χώρας πνέοντες, ὃ τε νότος, καὶ ὁ λῆψ, ἀνέμων πολλὸν τῶν πάντων ὑετώτατοι. δοκέει δέ μοι οὐδὲ πᾶν τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐπέτειον ἐκάστοτε ἀποπέμπεσθαι τοῦ Νείλου ὁ ἥλιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπολείπεσθαι περὶ ἑωυτόν. πρῆννομένου δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ἀπέρχεται ὁ ἥλιος ἐς μέσον τὸν οὐρανὸν ὀπίσω· καὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ὁμοίως ἀπὸ πάντων ἔλκει τῶν ποταμῶν. τέως δὲ οἱ μὲν, ὁμβρίου ὕδατος συμμισγομένου πολλοῦ αὐτοῖσι, ὅτε ὑομένης τε τῆς χώρας καὶ κεχαδρωμένης, ρέουσι μεγάλοι· τοῦ δὲ θέρεος, τῶν τε ὁμβρων ἐπιλειπόντων αὐτοὺς, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐλκόμενοι, ἀσθενέες εἰσὶ. ὁ δὲ Νείλος ἐὼν ἀνομβρος, ἐλκόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, μόνος ποταμῶν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον οἰκότως αὐτὸς ἑωυτοῦ ρέει πολλῶ ὑποδέεστερος ἢ τοῦ θέρεος· τότε μὲν γὰρ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ὑδάτων ἴσον ἔλκεται, τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα, μόνος πιέζεται.

- 26 οὕτω τὸν ἥλιον νενόμικα τούτων αἴτιον εἶναι. Αἴτιος δὲ ὡτὸς οὗτος, κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμὴν, καὶ τὸν ἥερα ξηρὸν τὸν ταύτη εἶναι, διακαίων τὴν διέξοδον αὐτῶ· οὕτω τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω θέρος αἰεὶ κατέχει. Εἰ δὲ ἡ στάσις ἡλλακτο τῶν ὥρέων, καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῇ μὲν νῦν ὁ βορέης τε καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐστᾶσι, ταύτη μὲν τοῦ νότου ἦν ἡ στάσις καὶ τῆς μεσαμβρίας, τῇ δὲ ὁ νότος νῦν ἔστηκε, ταύτη δὲ ὁ βορέης· εἰ ταῦτα οὕτω εἶχε, ὁ ἥλιος ἂν ἀπελαννόμενος ἐκ μέσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τοῦ βορέω, ἥϊε ἂν τὰ ἄνω τῆς Εὐρώπης, κατάπερ νῦν τῆς Λιβύης ἔρχεται. διεξιόντα δ' ἂν μιν διὰ πάσης Εὐρώπης, ἔλπομαι ποιεῖειν ἂν τὸν Ἰστρον τὰ περ νῦν ἐργάζεται τὸν Νεῖλον.
- 27 Τῆς αὖρης δὲ πέρι, ὅτι οὐκ ἀποπνέει, τήνδε ἔχω γνώμην, ὥς κάρτα ἀπὸ θερμῶν χωρέων οὐκ οἰκός ἐστι οὐδὲν ἀποπνέειν· αὖρη δὲ ἀπὸ ψυχροῦ τινος φιλέει πνέειν.

- 28 Ταῦτα μὲν νῦν ἔστω ὥς ἐστι τε καὶ ὥς ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο. Τοῦ δὲ Νείλου τὰς πηγὰς οὔτε Αἰγυπτίων, οὔτε Λιβύων, οὔτε Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἀπικομένων ἐς λόγους, οὐδεὶς ὑπέσχετο εἰδέναι, εἰ μὴ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν Ζαῖ πόλει ὁ γραμ-

ματιστῆς τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης. οὗτος δ' ἐμοί γε παίζειν ἐδόκεε, φάμενος εἰδέναι ἀτρεκέως. ἔλεγε δὲ ὧδε· “Εἶναι δύο οὔρεα ἐς ὃν τὰς κορυφὰς ἀπιγμένα, “μεταξὺ Συήνης τε πόλιος κείμενα τῆς Θηβαΐδος, καὶ “Ἐλεφαντίνης· οὐνόματα δὲ εἶναι τοῖσι οὔρεσι, τῷ μὲν, “Κρῶφι, τῷ δὲ, Μῶφι. τὰς ὧν δὴ πηγὰς τοῦ Νείλου, “εὐσας ἀβύσσους, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου τῶν οὔρεων τούτων ρέειν· “καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡμῖς τοῦ ὕδατος, ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ρέειν καὶ “πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον· τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἡμῖς, ἐπὶ Αἰθιοπίας “τε καὶ νότου. ὥς δὲ ἀβυσσοὶ εἰσι αἱ πηγαί, ἐς διάπειραν “ἔφη τούτου Ψαμμίτιχον Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα ἀπικέσθαι. “πολλέων γὰρ αὐτὸν χιλιάδων ὀργυιέων πλεξάμενον κάλον, “κατείνει ταύτη, καὶ οὐκ ἐξικέσθαι ἐς βυσσόν.” Οὕτω μὲν δὴ ὁ γραμματιστῆς, εἰ ἄρα ταῦτα γενόμενα ἔλεγε, ἀπέφαινε, ὥς ἐμὲ κατανοέειν δίνας τινὰς ταύτη εὐσας ἰσχυρὰς καὶ παλιρροίην· οἷα δὲ ἐμβάλλοντος τοῦ ὕδατος τοῖσι οὔρεσι, μὴ δύνασθαι κατιεμένην καταπειρητηρίην ἐς βυσσὸν ἵεναι. Ἄλλου δὲ οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν ἐδυνάμην πυ- 29 θέσθαι. ἀλλὰ τοσόνδε μὲν ἄλλο ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐπυθόμην, μέχρι μὲν Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος αὐτόπτης ἔλθων, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτου, ἀκοῇ ἤδη ἰστορέων. Ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος ἄνω ἰόντι, ἄναυτές ἐστι χωρίον· ταύτη ὧν δεῖ τὸ πλοῖον διαδήσαντας ἀμφοτέρωθεν, κατάπερ βοῦν, πορεύεσθαι· ἦν δὲ ἀπορραγῇ, τὸ πλοῖον οἴχεται φερόμενον ὑπὸ ἰσχύος τοῦ ῥόου. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο ἔστι ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τέσσερας πλόος· σκολιὸς δὲ ταύτη, κατάπερ ὁ Μαϊάνδρος, ἔστι ὁ Νεῖλος. σχοῖνοι δὲ δωδέκ' εἰσι οὔτοι, τοὺς δεῖ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ διεκπλῶσαι. καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπίζεαι ἐς πεδῖον λείον, ἐν τῷ νῆσον περιρρέει ὁ Νεῖλος· Ταχομνῶ οὐνομα αὐτῇ ἐστί. οἰκέουσι δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἄνω Αἰθίοπες ἤδη, καὶ τῆς νήσου τὸ ἡμῖς· τὸ δὲ ἡμῖς, Αἰγύπτιοι. ἔχεται δὲ τῆς νήσου λίμνη μεγάλη, τὴν περίεξ νομάδες Αἰθίοπες νέμονται· τὴν διεκπλῶσας, ἐς τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ρέεθρον ἤξεις, τὸ ἐς τὴν λίμνην ταύτην ἐκδιδού. καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποβάς, παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὁδοιπορίην ποιήσας ἡμερέων τεσσερακοντα· σκόπελοί τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ ὀξέες ἀνέχουσι, καὶ χοιράδες πολλαὶ εἰσι, δι' ὧν οὐκ οἷά τέ ἐστι πλέειν. διεξελθὼν δὲ ἐν τῇσι τεσσε-

ράκοντα ἡμέρησι τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, αὐτὶς ἐς ἕτερον πλοῖον ἐμβὰς, δυνώδεκα ἡμέρας πλεύσαι· καὶ ἔπειτα ἤξεις ἐς πόλιν μεγάλην, τῇ οὖνομά ἐστι Μερόη. λέγεται δὲ αὕτη ἢ πόλις εἶναι μητρόπολις τῶν ἄλλων Αἰθιοπῶν. οἱ δ' ἐν ταύτῃ Δία θεῶν καὶ Διόνυσον μούρους σέβονται, τούτους τε μεγάλως τιμῶσι· καὶ σφι μαντήιον Διὸς κατέστηκε. στρατεύονται δ' ἐπεὰν σφεας ὁ θεὸς οὗτος κελεύῃ διὰ
 30 θεσπισμάτων· καὶ, τῇ αὖ κελεύῃ, ἐκείσε. Ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος πλέων, ἐν ἴσῳ χρόνῳ ἄλλῳ ἤξεις ἐς τοὺς Αὐτομόλους, ἐν ὅσῳ περ ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἦλθες ἐς τὴν μητρόπολιν τὴν Αἰθιοπῶν. τοῖσι δὲ Αὐτομόλοισι τούτοις οὖνομά ἐστι Ἀσμάχ· δύναται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν, οἱ ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς παριστάμενοι βασιλεῖ. ἀπέστησαν δὲ αὐταὶ τέσσερες καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες Αἰγυπτίων τῶν μαχίμων ἐς τοὺς Αἰθιοπᾶς τούτους, δι' αἰτίνην τοιγύδε. ἐπὶ Ψαμμίτιχου βασιλέως φυλακαὶ κατέστασαν ἐν τε Ἐλεφαντίνῃ πόλει πρὸς Αἰθιοπῶν, καὶ ἐν Δάφνησι τῇσι Πηλουσίησι ἄλλη δὲ πρὸς Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Σύρων, καὶ ἐν Μαρῇ πρὸς Λιβύης ἄλλη. ἔτι δὲ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ καὶ Περσέων κατὰ ταῦτά αἱ φυλακαὶ ἔχουσι, ὥς καὶ ἐπὶ Ψαμμίτιχου ἦσαν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν Ἐλεφαντίνῃ Πέρσαι φρουρέουσι, καὶ ἐν Δάφνησι. τοὺς ὦν δὴ Αἰγυπτίους τρία ἔτεα φρουρήσαντας ἀπέλυε οὐδεὶς τῆς φρουρῆς· οἱ δὲ, βουλευσάμενοι καὶ κοινῶ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι, πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ψαμμίτιχου ἀποστάντες, ἦσαν ἐς Αἰθιοπίην. Ψαμμίτιχος δὲ πυθόμενος, ἐδίωκε. ὥς δὲ κατέλαβε, ἐδέετο, πολλὰ λέγων, καὶ σφεας θεοὺς πατρώους ἀπολιπεῖν οὐκ ἔα, καὶ τέκνα, καὶ γυναῖκας. τῶν δὲ τίνα λέγεται δείξαντα τὸ αἰδοῖον εἰπεῖν “ἐνθα ἂν τοῦτο ᾗ, ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖσι “ἐνθαῦτα καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας.” Οὗτοι ἐπεὶ τε ἐς Αἰθιοπίην ἀπίκοντο, διδοῦσι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῷ Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλεῖ. ὁ δὲ σφεας τῷδε ἀντιδωρέεται. ἦσαν οἱ διάφοροί τινες γεγονότες τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν· τούτους ἐκέλευε ἐξελόντας, τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν οἰκέειν. τούτων δὲ ἑσσοικισθέντων ἐς τοὺς Αἰθιοπᾶς, ἡμερώτεροι γεγόνασι Αἰθιοπες, ἦθθα μαθόντες Αἰγύπτια.

31 Μέχρι μὲν νυν τεσσέρων μηνῶν πλόου καὶ ὁδοῦ γινώσκειται ὁ Νεῖλος, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ρεύματος. τοσ-

οὔτοι γὰρ συμβαλλομένῳ μῆνες εὐρίσκονται ἀναισιμό-
μενοι ἐξ Ἑλεφαντίνης πορευομένῳ ἐς τοὺς Αὐτομόλους
τούτους. ῥέει δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης τε καὶ ἡλίου δυσμέων.
Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούδε, οὐδεὶς ἔχει σαφέως φράσαι· ἐρήμος γὰρ
ἐστὶ ἡ χώρα αὕτη ὑπὸ καύματος. Ἀλλὰ τὰδε μὲν ἤκουσα 32
ἀνδρῶν Κυρηναίων, φαμένων ἐλθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμμωνος
χρηστήριον, καὶ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς λόγους Ἑτεάρχῳ τῷ Ἀμ-
μωνίων βασιλεῖ· καὶ κως ἐκ λόγων ἄλλων ἀπικέσθαι ἐς
λέσχην περὶ τοῦ Νείλου, ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ οἶδε τὰς πηγὰς·
καὶ τὸν Ἑτεάρχον φάναι ἐλθεῖν κοτε παρ' αὐτὸν Νασα-
μῶνας ἀνδρας. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτό ἐστι μὲν Λιβυκόν,
νέμεται δὲ τὴν Σύρτιν τε καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἡῷ χώραν τῆς
Σύρτιος οὐκ ἐπὶ πολλόν. ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Νασα-
μῶνας, καὶ εἰρωτεωμένους εἴ τι ἔχουσι πλέον λέγειν περὶ
τῶν ἐρήμων τῆς Λιβύης, φάναι, παρὰ σφίσιν γενέσθαι
ἀνδρῶν δυναστῶν παῖδας ὕβριστάς· τοὺς ἄλλα τε μηχαν-
ᾶσθαι ἀνδρωθέντας περισσὰ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀποκληρῶσαι
πέντε ἑωυτῶν, ὀψομένους τὰ ἐρήμα τῆς Λιβύης, καὶ εἴ τι
πλέον ἴδοιεν τῶν τὰ μακρότατα ἰδομένων. (Τῆς γὰρ
Λιβύης τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν βορρῆν θάλασσαν, ἀπ' Αἰ-
γύπτου ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι Σολόεντος ἄκρης, ἡ τελευτὰ τὰ τῆς
Λιβύης, παρήκουσι παρὰ πᾶσαν Λίβυν, καὶ Λιβύων
ἔθνεα πολλὰ, πλὴν ὅσον Ἕλληνες καὶ Φοίνικες ἔχουσι.
τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης τε καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατη-
κόντων ἀνθρώπων, τὰ κατ' ὑπερθε θηριώδης ἐστὶ ἡ Λιβύη·
τὰ δὲ κατ' ὑπερθε τῆς θηριώδεος, ψάμμος τέ ἐστι, καὶ
ἀννδρος δεινῶς, καὶ ἐρήμος πάντων.) “Ἐπεὶ ὦν τοὺς
“νεηνίας ἀποπεμπομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἡλίκων, ὕδασι τε καὶ
“σιτίοισι εὖ ἐξηρτυμένους, ἵεναι τὰ πρῶτα μὲν διὰ τῆς
“οἰκεομένης· ταύτην δὲ διεξελθόντας, ἐς τὴν θηριώδεα
“ἀπικέσθαι· ἐκ δὲ ταύτης, τὴν ἐρήμον διεξιέναι, τὴν ὁδὸν
“ποιουμένους πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον· διεξελθόντας δὲ χῶρον
“πολλὸν ψαμμώδεα, καὶ ἐν πολλῇσι ἡμέρησι, ἰδεῖν δὴ
“κοτε δένδρεα ἐν πεδίῳ πεφυκότα· καὶ σφέας προσελ-
“θόντας, ἄπτεσθαι τοῦ ἐπεόντος ἐπὶ τῶν δεινδρέων καρποῦ.
“ἀπτομένοισι δὲ σφί ἐπελθεῖν ἀνδρας μικροὺς, μετρίων
“ἐλίσσονας ἀνδρῶν, λαβόντας δὲ ἄγειν σφέας· φωνῆς δὲ
“οὔτε τι τῆς ἐκείνων τοὺς Νασαμῶνας γινώσκειν, οὔτε

- “τοὺς ἄγοντας τῶν Νασαμώνων. ἄγειν τε δὴ αὐτοὺς δι’
 “ἐλέων μεγίστων, καὶ διεξελθόντας ταῦτα, ἀπικέσθαι ἐς
 “πόλιν, ἐν τῇ ἅπαντας εἶναι τοῖσι ἄγουσι τὸ μέγαθος
 “ἴσους, χρῶμα δὲ μέλανας. παρὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ῥέειν
 “ποταμὸν μέγαν· ῥέειν δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης αὐτὸν πρὸς ἥλιον
 33 “ἀνατέλλοντα· φαίνεσθαι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κροκοδείλους.” Ὁ
 μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου Ἐτεάρχου λόγος ἐς τοῦτό μοι
 δεδηλώσθω· πλὴν ὅτι “ἀπονουστήσαι τε ἔφασκε τοὺς Να-
 “σαμῶνας, ὥς οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἔλεγον· καὶ ἐς τοὺς οὗτοι ἀπὶ-
 “κοντο ἀνθρώπους, γόητας εἶναι πάντας.” Τὸν δὲ δὴ
 ποταμὸν τοῦτον τὸν παραρρέοντα καὶ Ἐτεάρχος συν-
 εβάλλετο εἶναι τὸν Νεῖλον· καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ λόγος οὕτω
 αἰρεῖ. ῥέει γὰρ ἐκ Λιβύης ὁ Νεῖλος, καὶ μέσσην τάμνων
 Λιβύην καὶ (ὥς ἐγὼ συμβάλλομαι, τοῖσι ἐμφανέσι τὰ μὴ
 γνωσκόμενα τεκμαιρόμενος) τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐκ τῶν ἴσων
 μέτρων ὁρμάται. Ἰστρος τε γὰρ ποταμὸς ἀρξάμενος ἐκ
 Κελτῶν καὶ Πυρήνης πόλιος, ῥέει μέσσην σχίζων τὴν
 Εὐρώπην. οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ εἰσι ἔξω Ἑρακλήϊον στηλέων
 ὁμουρέουσι δὲ Κυνησίοισι, οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς δυσμέων
 οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένων. τελευτᾷ δὲ ὁ
 Ἰστρος, ἐς θάλασσαν ῥέων τὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου διὰ
 πάσης Εὐρώπης, τῇ Ἰστρίῃ οἱ Μιλησίων οἰκέουσι ἀπ-
 34 οἰκοι. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἰστρος, ῥέει γὰρ δι’ οἰκευμένης, πρὸς
 πολλῶν γινώσκεται· περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Νεῖλου πηγέων
 οὐδεὶς ἔχει λέγειν· ἀοίκητός τε γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐρήμος ἡ
 Λιβύη, δι’ ἧς ῥέει. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ρεύματος αὐτοῦ, ἐπ’ ὅσον
 μακρότατον ἱστορεῦντα ἦν ἐξικέσθαι, εἴρηται. ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ
 ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἡ δὲ Αἴγυπτος τῆς ὀρεινῆς Κιλικίης μά-
 λιστα κη ἀντίη κέεται· ἐνθεύτεν δὲ, ἐς Σινώπην τὴν ἐν τῷ
 Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ πέντε ἡμερέων ἰθεὶα ὁδὸς εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ ἡ
 δὲ Σινώπῃ τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐκδιδόντι ἐς θάλασσαν ἀντίον
 κέεται. οὕτω τὸν Νεῖλον δοκέω διὰ πάσης τῆς Λιβύης
 διεξιόντα ἐξισοῦσθαι τῷ Ἰστρῷ. Νεῖλου μὲν νυν πέρι
 τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.
 35 Ἐρχομαι δὲ περὶ Αἰγύπτου μηνυέων τὸν λόγον, ὅτι
 πλείστα θωυμάσια ἔχει ἢ ἄλλη πᾶσα χώρα, καὶ ἔργα
 λόγου μέζω παρέχεται πρὸς πᾶσαν χώραν· τούτων εἵνεκα
 πλέω περὶ αὐτῆς εἰρήσεται. Αἰγύπτιοι ἅμα τῷ οὐρανῷ

τῷ κατὰ σφέας ἔοντι ἑτεροίῳ, καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ φύσιν ἀλλοίην παρεχόμενῳ ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι ποταμοί, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἔμπαλιν τοῖσι ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἐστήσαντο ἡθεὰ τε καὶ νόμους· ἐν τοῖσι αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἀγοράζουσι καὶ καπηλεύουσι· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες, κατ' οἴκους ἔοντες, ὑφαίνουσι. ὑφαίνουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι, ἄνω τὴν κρόκην ὠθέοντες, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ, κάτω. τὰ ἄχθεια οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν φοροῦσι, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων· οὐρέουσι, αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες, ὀρθαί· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες, κατήμειοι. εὐμαρὴν χρέωνται ἐν τοῖσι οἴκοις, ἐσθίουσι δὲ ἔξω ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖς· ἐπιλέγοντες, ὡς τὰ μὲν αἰσχροῦ, ἀναγκαῖα δὲ, ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ ἐστὶ ποιέειν χρεῶν· τὰ δὲ μὴ αἰσχροῦ, ἀναφανδόν. ἱράται γυνὴ μὲν οὐδεμία οὔτε ἔρσηνος θεοῦ, οὔτε θηλέης· ἄνδρες δὲ, πάντων τε καὶ πασέων. τρέφειν τοὺς τοκέας τοῖσι μὲν παισὶ οὐδεμία ἀνάγκη, μὴ βουλομένοις· τῇσι δὲ θυγατράσι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη, καὶ μὴ βουλομένησι. Οἱ ἱρέες τῶν θεῶν τῇ μὲν ἄλλῃ κομέουσι· ἐν 36 Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ, ξυρεῖνται. τοῖσι ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις νόμος ἅμα κηδεῖ κεκάρθαι τὰς κεφαλὰς τοὺς μάλιστα ἰκνέεται· Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ὑπὸ τοὺς θανάτους ἀνιέσι τὰς τρίχας αὔξασθαι, τὰς τε ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τῷ γενεῖ, τέως ἐξυρήμενοι. τοῖσι μὲν ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις χωρὶς θηρίων δίαίτα ἀποκέκριται· Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ ὁμοῦ θηρίοις ἡ δίαίτα ἐστὶ. ἀπὸ πυρέων καὶ κριθέων ὄλλοι ζώουσι· Αἰγυπτίων δὲ τῷ ποιευμένῳ ἀπὸ τούτων τὴν ζῆν, ὄνειδος μέγιστόν ἐστι· ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ ὀλυρέων ποιεῖνται σιτία, τὰς ζειὰς μετεξέτεροι καλέουσι. φυρῶσι τὸ μὲν σταῖς τοῖσι ποσί· τὸν δὲ πηλὸν τῇσι χερσὶ, καὶ τὴν κόπρον ἀναιρέονται. τὰ αἰδοῖα ὄλλοι μὲν ἐῶσι ὡς ἐγένοντο, πλὴν ὅσοι ἀπὸ τούτων ἔμαθον· Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ περιτάμνονται. εἴματα, τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἕκαστος ἔχει δύο· τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν ἐν ἐκάστη. τῶν ἰστίων τοὺς κρίκους καὶ κάλους, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἔξωθεν προσδέουσι· Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ, ἔσωθεν. γράμματα γράφουσι καὶ λογίζονται ψήφοις, "Ἕλληνες μὲν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ φέροντες τὴν χεῖρα· Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ, ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά· καὶ ποιεῖντες ταῦτα, αὐτοὶ μὲν φασὶ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ποιέειν, "Ἕλληνας δὲ ἐπ' ἀριστερά. διφασίοις δὲ γράμμασι χρέωνται· καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν, ἱρά· τὰ δὲ, δημοτικὰ καλέεται.

- 37 Θεοσεβέες δὲ περισσῶς ἐόντες μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, νόμοισι τοιοίσιδε χρέωνται. Ἐκ χαλκῶν ποτηρίων πίνουσι, διασμέωντες ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην· οὐκ ὁ μὲν, ὁ δ' οὐ, ἀλλὰ πάντες. εἴματα δὲ λίνεα φορέουσι, αἰεὶ νεόπλυτα· ἐπιτηδεύοντες τοῦτο μάλιστα. τὰ τε αἰδοῖα περιτάμνονται καθαριότητος εἵνεκε· προτιμῶντες καθαροὶ εἶναι ἢ εὐπρεπέστεροι. Οἱ δὲ ἱρέες ξυρεῦνται πᾶν τὸ σῶμα διὰ τρίτης ἡμέρης, ἵνα μήτε φθεῖρ, μήτε ἄλλο μυσαρὸν μηδὲν ἐγγινηταί σφι θεραπεύουσι τοὺς θεούς. ἐσθῆτα δὲ φορέουσι οἱ ἱρέες λινὴν μούνην, καὶ ὑποδήματα βύβλινα· ἄλλην δὲ σφι ἐσθῆτα οὐκ ἔξεστι λαβεῖν, οὐδὲ ὑποδήματα ἄλλα. λούνται δὲ δις τῆς ἡμέρης ἐκάστης ψυχρῶ, καὶ δις ἐκάστης νυκτός. ἄλλας τε θρησκίας ἐπιτελέουσι μυρίας, ὥς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ. πᾶσχουσι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ οὐκ ὀλίγα. οὔτε τι γὰρ τῶν οἰκητῶν τρίβουσι, οὔτε δαπανέωνται· ἀλλὰ καὶ σιτία σφί ἐστι ἱρὰ πεσσομένα, καὶ κρεῶν βοέων καὶ χηνέων πλῆθός τι ἐκάστω γίνεται πολλόν, ἡμέρης ἐκάστης· δίδονται δὲ σφι καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος. ἰχθύων δὲ οὐ σφι ἔξεστι πάσασθαι. κυάμους δὲ οὔτε τι μάλα σπείρουσι Αἰγύπτιοι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, τοὺς τε γενομένους οὔτε τρώγουσι, οὔτε ἔφοντες πατέονται. οἱ δὲ δι' ἱρέες οὐδὲ ὀρέοντες ἀνέχονται, νομίζοντες οὐ καθαρὸν μιν εἶναι ὄσπριον. ἱρᾶται δὲ οὐκ εἰς ἐκάστου τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ, τῶν εἰς ἐστι ἀρχιέρεως· ἐπεὰν δὲ τις ἀποθάνῃ, τούτου ὁ παῖς ἀντικατίσταται.
- 38 Τοὺς δὲ βοῦς τοὺς ἔρσενας τοῦ Ἐπάφου εἶναι νομίζουσι, καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκιμάζουσι αὐτοὺς ὧδε. τρίχα ἦν καὶ μίαν ἴδεται ἐπεοῦσαν μέλαιναν, οὐ καθαρὸν εἶναι νομίζει. δίζηται δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένους τῶν τις ἱρέων, καὶ ὀρθοῦ ἐστεῶτος τοῦ κτήνεος καὶ ὑπτίου, καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐξεῖρυσας, εἰ καθαρὴ τῶν προκειμένων σημητῶν, τὰ ἐγὼ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἐρέω. κατορᾷ δὲ καὶ τὰς τρίχας τῆς οὐρῆς, εἰ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχει πεφυκυίας. ἦν δὲ τούτων πάντων ἢ καθαρὸς, σημαίνεται βύβλω περὶ τὰ κέρεα εἰλίσσων· καὶ ἔπειτα γῆν σημαντρίδα ἐπιπλάσας, ἐπιβάλλει τὸν δακτύλιον καὶ οὕτω ἀπάγουσι. ἀσημαντον δὲ θύσαντι θάνατος ἢ ζημὴ ἐπικέεται· δοκιμάζεται μὲν νυν
- 39 τὸ κτήνος τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. Θυσίῃ δὲ σφι ἦδε κατέστηκε.

ἀγαγόντες τὸ σεσημασμένον κτήνος πρὸς τὸν βωμόν, ὅκου ἂν θύωσι, πυρὴν καίουσι. ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ οἶνον κατὰ τοῦ ἱρήϊου ἐπισπείσαντες, καὶ ἐπικαλέσαντες τὸν θεόν, σφάζουσιν· σφάζαντες δὲ, ἀποτάμνουσι τὴν κεφαλὴν. σῶμα μὲν δὴ τοῦ κτήνεος δείρουσι· κεφαλῇ δὲ κείνη πολλὰ καταρησάμενοι, φέρουσι, τοῖσι μὲν ἂν ἢ ἀγορῇ, καὶ Ἑλληνές σφισι ἔωσι ἐπιδήμιοι ἔμποροι, οἱ δὲ φέροντες ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν, ἀπ' ὧν ἔδοντο· τοῖσι δὲ ἂν μὴ παρέωσι Ἑλληνες, οἱ δ' ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸν ποταμόν. καταρέονται δὲ, τάδε λέγοντες, τῇσι κεφαλῇσι· “εἴ τι μέλλοι ἢ σφίσι “τοῖσι θύουσι, ἢ Αἰγύπτῳ τῇ συναπάσῃ κακὸν γενέσθαι, “ἐς κεφαλὴν ταύτην τραπέσθαι.” Κατὰ μὲν νυν τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν θυομένων κτηνέων, καὶ τὴν ἐπίσπειςιν τοῦ οἶνου, πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι νόμοισι τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρέωνται ὁμοίως ἐς πάντα τὰ ἱρά· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ νόμου, οὐδὲ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἐμψύχου κεφαλῆς γένεσται Αἰγυπτίων οὐδεὶς. Ἡ δὲ δὴ ἐξαιρέσις τῶν ἱρῶν καὶ ἡ καῦσις, ἄλλη 40 περὶ ἄλλο ἱρόν σφι κατέστηκε. τὴν δ' ὧν μεγίστην τε δαίμονα ἡγνῆται εἶναι, καὶ μεγίστην οἱ ὀρτὴν ἀνάγουσι, ταύτην ἔρχομαι ἐρέων. ἐπεὰν ἀποδείρωσι τὸν βούν, κατευξάμενοι, κοιλίην μὲν κεινὴν πᾶσαν ἐξ ὧν εἶλον, σπλάγχνα δὲ αὐτοῦ λείπουσι ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν πιμελὴν· σκέλεα δὲ ἀποτάμνουσι, καὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν ἄκρην, καὶ τοὺς ὤμους τε καὶ τὸν τράχηλον. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα τοῦ βοῦς πιμπλᾷσι ἄρτων καθαρῶν, καὶ μέλιτος, καὶ ἀσταφίδος, καὶ σύκων, καὶ λιβανωτοῦ, καὶ σμύρνης, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυωμάτων. πλήσαντες δὲ τούτων, καταγίζουσι, ἔλαιον ἄφθονον καταχέοντες. προνηστεύσαντες δὲ, θύουσι. καιομένων δὲ τῶν ἱρῶν τύπτονται πάντες· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀποτύψωνται, δαῖτα προτίθενται τὰ ἐλίποντο τῶν ἱρῶν.

Τοὺς μὲν νυν καθαρὸς βοὺς τοὺς ἔρσενας καὶ τοὺς 41 μόσχους οἱ πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι θύουσι· τὰς δὲ θηλέας οὐ σφι ἔξεστι θύειν, ἀλλὰ ἱραὶ εἰσι τῆς Ἰσίου. τὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἰσίου ἄγαλμα ἐὼν γυναικῆϊον, βούκερὼν ἐστι, κατὰ περ Ἑλληνες τὴν Ἰοῦν γράφουσι· καὶ τὰς βοὺς τὰς θηλέας Αἰγύπτιοι πάντες ὁμοίως σέβονται προβάτων πάντων μάλιστα μακρῶ. τῶν εἵνεκα οὐτ' ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος, οὔτε

γυνή, ἄνδρα Ἑλληνα φιλήσειε ἂν τῷ στόματι, οὐδὲ μαχαίρῃ ἄνδρὸς Ἕλληνας χρήσεται, οὐδ' ὀβελοῖσι, οὐδὲ λέβητι, οὐδὲ κρέως καθαροῦ βοῦς διατετμημένου Ἑλληνικῇ μαχαίρῃ γεύσεται. Θάπτουσι δὲ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας βοῦς, τρόπον τόνδε. τὰς μὲν θηλέας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπιᾶσι· τοὺς δὲ ἔρσενας κατορύσσουσι ἕκαστοι ἐν τοῖσι προαστείοισι, τὸ κέρας τὸ ἕτερον ἢ καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ὑπέρχοντα, σημηίου εἵνεκεν. ἐπεὰν δὲ σαπῇ, καὶ προσίῃ ὁ τεταγμένος χρόνος, ἀπικνέεται ἐς ἐκάστην πόλιν βάρις ἐκ τῆς Προσωπίτιδος καλυμένης νήσου. ἢ δ' ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῷ Δέλτα, περίμετρον δὲ αὐτῆς εἰσὶ σχοῖνοι ἐννέα. ἐν ταύτῃ ὦν τῇ Προσωπίτιδι νήσῳ ἔνεισι μὲν καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις συχναί· ἐκ τῆς δὲ αἱ βάρις παραγίνονται ἀναιρησόμεναι τὰ ὀστέα τῶν βοῶν, οὖνομα τῇ πόλει Ἀτάρβηχis· ἐν δ' αὐτῇ Ἀφροδίτης ἱρὸν ἅγιον ἱδρυται. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος πλανέονται πολλοὶ ἄλλοι ἐς ἄλλας πόλεις· ἀνορύξαντες δὲ τὰ ὀστέα, ἀπάγουσι καὶ θάπτουσι ἐς ἓνα χώρον πάντες. κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοῖσι βουσι καὶ τᾶλλα κτήνεα θάπτουσι ἀποθνήσκοντα· καὶ γὰρ περὶ ταῦτα οὕτω σφι νενομοθέτηται· κτείνουσι γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ ταῦτα.

- 42 Ὅσοι μὲν δὴ Διὸς Θηβαίος ἱδρυται ἱρὸν, ἢ νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαίου εἰσὶ, οὗτοι μὲν νυν πάντες οἶων ἀπεχόμενοι, αἰγας θύουσι. θεοὺς γὰρ δὴ οὐ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες ὁμοίως Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται, πλὴν Ἰσιός τε καὶ Ὀσίριος, τὸν δὴ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι· τούτους δὲ ὁμοίως ἅπαντες σέβονται. ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ Μένδητος ἔκτληται ἱρὸν, ἢ νομοῦ τοῦ Μενδησίου εἰσὶ, οὗτοι δὲ αἰγῶν ἀπεχόμενοι, οἷς θύουσι. Θηβαῖοι μὲν νυν, καὶ ὅσοι διὰ τούτους οἶων ἀπέχονται, διὰ τὰδε λέγουσι τὸν νόμον τόνδε σφι τεθῆναι· “Ἡρακλέα θελῆσαι πάντως ιδέσθαι τὸν Δία, καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἐθέλειν ὀφθῆναι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ. τέλος δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε “λιπαρέειν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τὸν Δία μηχανήσασθαι, κριὸν “ἐκδειραντα, προέχεσθαι τε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποταμόντα “τοῦ κριοῦ, καὶ ἐνδύντα τὸ νάκος, οὕτω οἱ ἐωυτὸν ἐπι- “δέξαι.” Ἀπὸ τούτου κριοπρόσωπον τοῦ Διὸς τῷ γαλαμ ποιεῦσι Αἰγύπτιοι· ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων, Ἀμμώνιοι, ἔοντες Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν ἄποικοι, καὶ φωνὴν μεταξὺ

ἀμφοτέρων νομίζοντες. δοκέειν δ' ἐμοί, καὶ τὸ οὖνομα Ἀμμώνιοι ἀπὸ τοῦδὲ σφι τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἐποιήσαντο· Ἀμοῦν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τὸν Δία. τοὺς δὲ κριοὺς οὐ θύουσι Ὀθβαῖοι, ἀλλ' εἰσὶ σφι ἱροὶ διὰ τοῦτο. μὴ δὲ ἡμέρη τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἐν ὁρτῇ τοῦ Διὸς, κριὸν ἕνα κατακόψαντες καὶ ἀποδείραντες, κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐνδύνουσι τῷγαλμα τοῦ Διὸς, καὶ ἔπειτα ἄλλο ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλῆος προσάγουσι πρὸς αὐτό. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, τύπτονται οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἅπαντες τὸν κριὸν, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν ἱρῇ θήκῃ θάπτουσι αὐτόν.

Ἡρακλῆος δὲ περὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον ἤκουσα, ὅτι εἴη 43 τῶν δυνάδεκα θεῶν. τοῦ ἐτέρου δὲ περὶ Ἡρακλῆος, τὸν Ἰλληνες οἶδασι, οὐδαμῇ Αἰγύπτου ἐδυνάσθην ἀκοῦσαι. αἱ μὲν ὅτι γε οὐ παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον τὸ οὖνομα τοῦ Ἡρακλῆος Αἰγύπτιοι, ἀλλὰ Ἑλληνες μᾶλλον παρ' Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ Ἑλλήνων οὗτοι οἱ θέμενοι τῷ Ἀμφιτρύωνος γόνῳ τοῦνομα Ἡρακλέα, πολλὰ μοι καὶ ἄλλα τεκμήριά ἐστι τοῦτο οὕτω ἔχειν, ἐν δὲ καὶ τότε, ὅτι τε τοῦ Ἡρακλῆος τούτου οἱ γονεὲς ἀμφοτέροι ἦσαν, Ἀμφιτρύων καὶ Ἀλκμήνη, γεγονότες τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, καὶ διότι Αἰγύπτιοι οὔτε Ποσειδέωνος οὔτε Διοσκουῶν τὰ οὐνόματά φασι εἶδέναι, οὐδὲ σφι θεοὶ οὗτοι ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοις θεοῖσι ἀποδεδέχεται. καὶ μὲν εἴ γε παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον οὖνομά τευ δαίμονος, τούτων οὐκ ἤκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα ἐμελλον μνήμην ἔξειν, εἴπερ καὶ τότε ναυτιλίῃσι ἐχρέωντο, καὶ ἦσαν Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ναυτίλοι, ὥς ἔλπομαί τε καὶ ἐμὴ γνώμη αἰρέει· ὥστε τούτων ἂν καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν θεῶν τὰ οὐνόματα ἐξεπιστέατο Αἰγύπτιοι ἢ τοῦ Ἡρακλῆος. Ἀλλὰ τις ἀρχαῖός ἐστι θεὸς Αἰγυπτίοις Ἡρακλῆς· ὥς δὲ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἕτεά ἐστι ἐπτακισχίλια καὶ μύρια ἐς Ἀμασιν βασιλεύσαντα, ἐπεὶ τε ἐκ τῶν ὀκτῶ θεῶν οἱ δυνάδεκα θεοὶ ἐγένοντο, τῶν Ἡρακλέα ἕνα νομίζουσι. Καὶ θέλων δὲ τούτων περὶ σαφές τι εἶδέναι ἐξ 44 ὧν οἶόν τε ἦν, ἐπλευσα καὶ ἐς Τύρον τῆς Φοινίκης, πυνθανόμενος αὐτόθι εἶναι ἱρὸν Ἡρακλῆος ἁγίον· καὶ ἴδον πλουσίως κατεσκευασμένον ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς ἀναθήμασι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἦσαν στῆλαι δύο, ἡ μὲν, χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθον· ἡ δὲ, σμαράγδου λίθου, λάμποντος τὰς νύκτας

μέγαθος. ἐς λόγους δὲ ἐλθὼν τοῖσι ἱρεῦσι τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρό-
 μνην ὁκόσος χρόνος εἴη ἐξ οὗ σφι τὸ ἶρόν ἰδρυται. εὐρον
 δὲ οὐδὲ τούτους τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι συμφερομένους. ἔφασαν
 γὰρ ἅμα Τύρῳ οἰκίζομένη καὶ τὸ ἶρόν τοῦ θεοῦ ἰδρυθῆναι·
 εἶναι δὲ ἔτεα ἀφ' οὗ Τύρον οἰκέουσι, τριηκόσια καὶ δισχι-
 λια. εἶδον δὲ ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ καὶ ἄλλο ἶρόν Ἡρακλέος, ἐπω-
 νυμῆν ἔχοντος Θασίου εἶναι. ἀπικόμην δὲ καὶ ἐς Θάσον,
 ἐν τῇ εὐρον ἶρόν Ἡρακλέος ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἰδρυμένον, οὐ
 κατ' Εὐρώπης ζήτησιν ἐκπλώσαντες, Θάσον ἐκτίσαν· καὶ
 ταῦτα καὶ πέντε γενεῇσι ἀνδρῶν πρότερά ἐστι ἢ τὸν
 Ἀμφιτρύωνος Ἡρακλέα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι γενέσθαι. Τὰ
 μὲν νυν ἱστορημένα δηλοῖ σαφέως παλαιὸν θεὸν τὸν
 Ἡρακλέα ἔοντα. καὶ δοκέουσι δέ μοι οὗτοι ὀρθότατα
 Ἑλλήνων ποιεῖν, οὐ διζὰ Ἡράκλεια ἰδρυσάμενοι ἔκην-
 ται· καὶ τῷ μὲν, ὡς ἀθανάτῳ, Ὀλυμπίῳ δὲ ἐπωνυμῆν,
 45 θύουσι· τῷ δὲ ἑτέρῳ, ὡς ἥρωϊ ἐναγίζουσι. Λέγουσι δὲ
 πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνεπισκέπτως οἱ Ἕλληνες. εὐήθης δὲ
 αὐτῶν καὶ ὅδε ὁ μῦθος ἐστι, τὸν περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος
 λέγουσι· ὡς “αὐτὸν ἀπικόμενον ἐς Αἴγυπτον στέφαντες
 “οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, ὑπὸ πομπῆς ἐξήγον ὡς θύσοντας τῷ Διὶ·
 “τὸν δὲ, τέως μὲν ἡσυχίην ἔχειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ
 “βωμῷ κατάρχοντο, ἐς ἀλκὴν τραπόμενον, πάντας σφέας
 “καταφονεῦσαι.” Ἔμοι μὲν νυν δοκέουσι, ταῦτα λέ-
 γοντες, τῆς Αἰγυπτίων φύσιος καὶ τῶν νόμων πάμπαν
 ἀπείρως ἔχειν οἱ Ἕλληνες. τοῖσι γὰρ οὐδὲ κτήνεα ὅσῃ
 θύειν ἐστὶ, χωρὶς οἴων, καὶ ἐρσένων βοῶν καὶ μόσχων,
 ὅσοι ἂν καθαροὶ ἔωσι, καὶ χηνῶν, κῶς ἂν οὗτοι ἀνθρώ-
 πους θύοιεν; ἔτι δὲ ἓνα ἔοντα τὸν Ἡρακλέα, καὶ ἔτι
 ἀνθρώπου, ὡς δὴ φασι, κῶς φύσιν ἔχει πολλὰς μυριάδας
 φονεῦσαι; Καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων τοσαῦτα ἡμῖν εἰποῦσι,
 καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἡρώων εὐμένεια εἴη.
 46 Τὰς δὲ δὴ αἰγας καὶ τοὺς τραγούς τῶνδε εἵνεκα οὐ
 θύουσι Αἰγυπτίων οἱ εἰρημένοι. τὸν Πᾶνα τῶν ὀκτῶ
 θεῶν λογίζονται εἶναι οἱ Μενδήσιοι· τοὺς δὲ ὀκτῶ θεοὺς
 τούτους, προτέρους τῶν δωδέκα θεῶν φασι γενέσθαι.
 γράφουσί τε δὴ καὶ γλύφουσι οἱ ζωγράφοι καὶ οἱ ἀγαλ-
 ματοποιοὶ τοῦ Πανὸς τῷ γαλμα, κατὰ περ Ἕλληνες, αἰ-
 γοπρόσωπον καὶ τραγοσκελέα· οὐ τι τοιοῦτον νομίζοντες

εἶναί μιν, ἀλλ' ὁμοῖον τοῖσι ἄλλοισι θεοῖσιν ὅτεν δὲ εἴνεκα τοιοῦτον γράφουσι αὐτὸν, οὐ μοι ἡδιδόν ἐστι λέγειν. σέβονται δὲ πάντας τοὺς αἰγας οἱ Μενδήσιοι, καὶ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἔρσενας τῶν θηλέων, καὶ τούτων οἱ αἰπόλοι τιμὰς μέζονας ἔχουσι· ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰς μάλιστα, ὅστις ἐπεὰν ἀποθάνῃ, πένθος μέγα παντὶ τῇ Μενδησίῳ νομῶ τίθεται. καλέεται δὲ ὅ τε τράγος καὶ ὁ Πὰν Αἰγυπτιστὶ, Μένδης. ἐγένετο δ' ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ τοῦτο τὸ τέρας· γυναικὶ τράγος ἐμίσγητο ἀναφανδόν. τοῦτο ἐς ἐπίδεξιν ἀνθρώπων ἀπίκετο.

Τὴν δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι μιὰρὸν ἡγνῆται θηρίον εἶναι· καὶ 47 τοῦτο μὲν, ἦν τις ψαύσῃ αὐτῶν παριῶν ὑὸς, αὐτοῖσι ἱματίοισι ἀπ' ὧν ἔβαψε ἑωυτὸν, βὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν· τοῦτο δὲ, οἱ συβῶται, ἔοντες Αἰγύπτιοι ἐγγενέες, ἐς ἱρὸν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐσέρχονται μῦνοι πάντων· οὐδέ σφι ἐκδίδοσθαι θυγατέρα οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει, οὐδ' ἄγεσθαι ἐξ αὐτῶν· ἀλλ' ἐκδιδόαται τε οἱ συβῶται καὶ ἀγέαται ἐξ ἀλλήλων. τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι θύειν ὥς οὐ δικαιοῦσι Αἰγύπτιοι· Σελήνῃ δὲ καὶ Διονύσῳ μύνουσι, τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου, τῇ αὐτῇ πανσελήνῳ, τοὺς ὥς θύσαντες, πατέονται τῶν κρεῶν. διότι δὲ τοὺς ὥς ἐν μὲν τῇσι ἄλλῃσι ὀρτῇσι ἀπεστυγήκασιν, ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ θύουσι, ἔστι μὲν λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγόμενος· ἐμοὶ μέντοι ἐπισταμένῳ οὐκ εὐπρεπέστερός ἐστι λέγεσθαι. θυσίῃ δὲ ἥδε τῶν ὑῶν τῇ Σελήνῃ ποιέεται· ἐπεὰν θύσῃ, τὴν οὐρὴν ἄκρην καὶ τὸν σπλῆνα καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλοον συνθεῖς ὁμοῦ, κατ' ὧν ἐκάλινψε πάσῃ τοῦ κτήνεος τῇ πιμελῇ τῇ περὶ τὴν νηδὺν γινομένην καὶ ἔπειτα καταγίξει πυρί. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα σιτέονται ἐν τῇ πανσελήνῳ, ἐν τῇ ἂν τὰ ἱρὰ θύσωσιν· ἐν ἄλλῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ οὐκ ἂν ἔτι γευσαίητο. οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἀσθενείας βίου σταιτῖνας πλάσαντες ὥς, καὶ ὀπτῆσαντες ταύτας, θύουσι. Τῷ δὲ Διονύσῳ, τῆς 48 ὀρτῆς τῇ δορπῇ, χοῖρον πρὸ τῶν θυρέων σφάξας ἕκαστος, διδοῖ ἀποφέρεισθαι τὸν χοῖρον αὐτῷ τῷ ἀποδομένῳ τῶν συβωτέων. τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἀνάγουσι ὀρτὴν τῷ Διονύσῳ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, πλὴν χορῶν, κατὰ ταῦτά σχεδὸν πάντα Ἕλλησι. ἀντὶ δὲ φαλλῶν, ἄλλα σφί ἐστι ἐξευρημένα ὅσον τε πηχυαῖα ἀγάλματα νευρόσπαστα, τὰ περιφο-

ρέουσι κατὰ κόμας γυναῖκες, νεῦον τὸ αἰδοῖον, οὐ πολλῶ τέφ' ἔλασσον ἐόν τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος. προηγέεται δὲ αὐλός· αἱ δὲ ἔπονται αἰδίδουσαι τὸν Διόνυσον. διότι δὲ μέζον τε ἔχει τὸ αἰδοῖον, καὶ κινεῖ μῦνον τοῦ σώματος, 49 ἔστι λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ ἱρὸς λεγόμενος. Ἦδη ὦν δοκέει μοι Μελάμπους ὁ Ἀμυθέωνος τῆς θυσίης ταύτης οὐκ εἶναι ἀδαῆς, ἀλλ' ἔμπειρος. Ἑλλησι γὰρ δὴ Μελάμπους ἐστὶ ὁ ἐξηγησάμενος τοῦ Διονύσου τό τε οὐνομα, καὶ τὴν θυσίην, καὶ τὴν πομπὴν τοῦ φαλλοῦ. ἀτρεκέως μὲν οὐ πάντα συλλαβὼν τὸν λόγον ἔφηνε· ἀλλ' οἱ ἐπιγενόμενοι τούτῳ σοφιστὰι μεζόνως ἐξέφηναν. τὸν δ' ὦν φαλλὸν τὸν τῷ Διονύσῳ πεμπόμενον Μελάμπους ἐστὶ ὁ κατηγοσάμενος· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου μαθόντες ποιεῦσι τὰ ποιεῦσι Ἕλληνες. Ἐγὼ μὲν νῦν φημι Μελάμποδα γενόμενον ἄνδρα σοφόν, μαντικὴν τε ἐωυτῷ συστήσαι, καὶ πυθόμενον ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐσηγήσασθαι Ἕλλησι, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, ὀλίγα αὐτῶν παραλλάξαντα. οὐ γὰρ δὴ συμπεσέειν γε φήσω τὰ τε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποιούμενα τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι· ὁμότροπα γὰρ ἂν ᾖ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, καὶ οὐ νεωστὶ ἐσαγμένα. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ φήσω ὅπως Αἰγύπτιοι παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον ἢ τοῦτο, ἢ ἄλλο κού τι νόμαιον. πυθέσθαι δὲ μοι δοκέει μάλιστα Μελάμπους τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον παρὰ Κάδμου τε τοῦ Τυρίου, καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν νῦν Βοιωτὴν καλεομένην χώραν.

50 Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντα τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐλήλυθε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. διότι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦκει, πυνθανόμενος οὕτω εὐρίσκω ἐόν δοκέω δ' ὦν μάλιστα ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπίχθαι. ὅτι γὰρ δὴ μὴ Ποσειδέωνος, καὶ Διοσκούρων, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι ταῦτα εἴρηται, καὶ Ἥρης, καὶ Ἰστίης, καὶ Θέμιος, καὶ Χαρίτων, καὶ Νηρηίδων, τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Αἰγυπτίοισι αἰεὶ κοτε τὰ οὐνόματά ἐστι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. τῶν δὲ οὐ φασι θεῶν γινώσκειν τὰ οὐνόματα, οὗτοι δὲ μοι δοκεῖν ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ὀνομασθῆναι, πλην Ποσειδέωνος. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν θεὸν παρὰ Λιβύων ἐπύθοντο. οὐδαμοὶ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Ποσειδέωνος οὐνομα ἔκτηνται, εἰ μὴ Λίβυες· καὶ τιμέωσι τὸν

θεὸν τοῦτον αἰεὶ. νομίζουσι δ' ὦν Αἰγύπτιοι οὐδ' ἥρωσι οὐδέν. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν, καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτοις τὰ ἐγὼ 51 φράσω, "Ἕλληνες ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων νενομίκασι. τοῦ δὲ Ἑρμέω τὰ ἀγάλματα ὀρθὰ ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα ποιεῦντες, οὐκ ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ Πελασγῶν· πρῶτοι μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων Ἀθηναῖοι παραλαβόντες, παρὰ δὲ τούτων ἄλλοι. Ἀθηναίοισι γάρ, ἤδη τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἑλληνας τελέουσι, Πελασγοὶ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ χώρῃ· ὅθεν περ καὶ Ἕλληνες ἤρξαντο νομισθῆναι. ὅστις δὲ τὰ Καβείρων ὄργια μεμύηται, τὰ Σαμοθρῆικες ἐπιτελέουσι παραλαβόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν, οὗτος ὠνὴρ οἶδε τὸ λέγω. τὴν γὰρ Σαμοθρητικὴν οἶκεον πρότερον Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι, τοί περ Ἀθηναίοισι σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ παρὰ τούτων Σαμοθρητικὰ τὰ ὄργια παραλαμβάνουσι. ὀρθὰ ὦν ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα τὰγάλματα τοῦ Ἑρμέω, Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων, μαθόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν, ἐποίησαντο. οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ἱρόν τινα λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔλεξαν, τὰ ἐν τοῖσι ἐν Σαμοθρητικῇ μυστηρίοισι δεδῆλωται. Ἐθυον δὲ πάντα πρότερον οἱ Πελασγοὶ θεοῖσι ἐπευχόμε- 52 νοι, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐν Δωδώνῃ οἶδα ἀκούσας· ἐπωνυμίην δὲ οὐδ' οὔνομα ἐποιεῦντο οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἀκηκόεσάν κω. θεοὺς δὲ προσωνόμασάν σφεας ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου, ὅτι κόσμῳ θέντες τὰ πάντα πρήγματα καὶ πάσας νομὰς εἶχον. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ, χρόνου πολλοῦ διεξελθόντος, ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀπικόμενα τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων, Διούσου δὲ ὕστερον πολλῶ ἐπύθοντο. καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἐχρηστηριάζοντο περὶ τῶν οὐνομάτων ἐν Δωδώνῃ· τὸ γὰρ δὴ μαντήιον τοῦτο νενόμισται ἀρχαιότατον τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάσσι χρηστηρίων εἶναι, καὶ ἦν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον μόνον. ἐπεὶ ὦν ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν τῇ Δωδώνῃ οἱ Πελασγοὶ "εἰ ἀνέλονται τὰ οὐνόματα τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἤκουτα;" ἀνείλε τὸ μαντήιον "χρᾶσθαι." ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἔθυον, τοῖσι οὐνόμασι τῶν θεῶν χρεώμενοι. παρὰ δὲ Πελασγῶν Ἕλληνες ἐξεδέξαντο ὕστερον. Ἐνθεν δὲ 53 ἐγένετο ἕκαστος τῶν θεῶν, εἴ τε δ' αἰεὶ ἦσαν πάντες, ὁκοιοί τέ τινες τὰ εἶδεα, οὐκ ἠπιστέατο μέχρι οὐ πρῶην τε καὶ χθές, ὡς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ. Ἡσίοδον γάρ καὶ Ὀμηρον ἡλικίην τετρακοσίοισι ἔτεσι δοκέω μεν πρεσβυτέρους

γενέσθαι, καὶ οὐ πλέοσι. οὗτοι δὲ εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην Ἑλλήσι, καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες, καὶ τιμάς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες, καὶ εἶδεα αὐτῶν σημηναντες. οἱ δὲ πρότερον ποιηταὶ λεγόμενοι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι, ὕστερον, ἐμοί γε δοκέειν, ἐγένοντο τούτων. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα αἱ Δωδωνίδες ἱρήϊαι λέγουσι· τὰ δὲ ὕστερα, τὰ ἐς Ἡσιόδον τε καὶ Ὅμηρον ἔχοντα, ἐγὼ λέγω.

- 54 Χρηστηρίων δὲ πέρι, τοῦ τε ἐν Ἑλλήσι, καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ, τόνδε Αἰγύπτιοι λόγον λέγουσι. ἔφασαν οἱ ἱρέες τοῦ Θηβαίεος Διὸς “ δύο γυναῖκας ἱρήϊας ἐκ Θηβέων “ ἔξαχθῆναι ὑπὸ Φοινίκων· καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων πυθέσθαι “ ἐς Λιβύην πρηθείσαν, τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας· ταύτας “ δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας εἶναι τὰς ἰδρυσαμένας τὰ μαντήϊα “ πρῶτας ἐν τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι ἔθνεσι.” Εἰρομένου δέ μιν, ὁκόθεν οὕτω ἀτρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγουσι, ἔφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα, “ ζήτησιν μεγάλην ἀπὸ σφέων γενέσθαι τῶν “ γυναικῶν τούτων· καὶ ἀνευρεῖν μὲν σφεας οὐ δυνατοὶ “ γενέσθαι· πυθέσθαι δὲ ὕστερον ταῦτα περὶ αὐτέων
- 55 “ τάπερ δὴ ἔλεγον.” Ταῦτα μὲν νῦν τῶν ἐν Θήβῃσι ἱρέων ἤκουον· τὰδε δὲ Δωδωναίων φασὶ αἱ προμάντιες· “ Δύο πελειάδας μελαίνας ἐκ Θηβέων τῶν Αἰγυπτιέων “ ἀναπταμένας, τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Λιβύην, τὴν δὲ παρὰ “ σφέας ἀπικέσθαι. ἰζομένην δέ μιν ἐπὶ φηγόν, αὐδά- “ ξασθαι φωνῇ ἀνθρωπηῇ, ὥς χρεὼν εἶη μαντήιον αὐτόθι “ Διὸς γενέσθαι. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπολαβεῖν θεῖον εἶναι τὸ “ ἐπαγγελλόμενον αὐτοῖσι, καὶ σφεας ἐκ τούτου ποιῆσαι. “ τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Λίβυας οἰχομένην πελειάδα λέγουσι “ Ἀμμωνος χρηστήριον κελεύσαι τοὺς Λίβυας ποιεῖν.” ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο Διός. Δωδωναίων δὲ αἱ ἱρήϊαι, τῶν τῇ πρεσβυτάτῃ οὐνομα ἦν Προμένεια, τῇ δὲ μετὰ ταύτην, Τιμαρέτῃ, τῇ δὲ νεωτάτῃ, Νικάνδρῃ, ἔλεγον ταῦτα. συνωμολόγεον δὲ σφί καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Δωδωναῖοι οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρόν.
- 56 Ἐγὼ δ' ἔχω περὶ αὐτέων γνώμην τήνδε. εἰ ἀληθῶς οἱ Φοῖνικες ἐξήγαγον τὰς ἱρὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Λιβύην, τὴν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπέδοντο, δοκεῖ ἐμοὶ ἢ γυνὴ αὕτη τῆς νῦν Ἑλλάδος, πρότερον δὲ Πελασγίης καλευμένης τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης, πρηθῆναι ἐς Θεσπρωτοῦς·

ἔπειτα δουλεύουσα αὐτόθι, ιδρύσασθαι ὑπὸ φηγῶ πεφυ-
 κυῖη Διὸς ἱρόν· ὥσπερ ἦν οἶκος, ἀμφιπολεύουσιν ἐν
 Θήβησι ἱρόν Διὸς, ἐνθα ἀπύκετο, ἐνθαῦτα μνήμην αὐτοῦ
 ἔχειν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου, χρηστήριον κατηγήσατο, ἐπεὶ τε
 συνέλαβε τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλώσσαν. φάναι δὲ οἱ ἀδελφεὴν
 ἐν Λιβύῃ πεπρήσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν Φοινίκων, ὑπ' ὧν
 καὶ αὕτῃ ἐπρήθη. Πελειάδες δέ μοι δοκέουσι κληθῆναι 57
 πρὸς Δωδωναίων ἐπὶ τοῦδε αἱ γυναῖκες, διότι βάρβαροι
 ἦσαν· ἐδόκεον δὲ σφι ὁμοίως ὄρνισι φθέγγεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ
 χρόνον τὴν πελειάδα ἀνθρωπότη φωνῇ αὐδάξασθαι λέ-
 γουσι, ἐπεὶ τε συνετά σφι ἡῦδα ἡ γυνή· ἔως δὲ ἐβαρβά-
 ριξε, ὄρνιθος τρόπον ἐδόκεε σφι φθέγγεσθαι· ἐπεὶ τέω
 τρόπῳ αὖ πελειάς γε ἀνθρωπότη φωνῇ φθέγγαιτο; μέλαι-
 ναν δὲ λέγοντες εἶναι τὴν πελειάδα, σημαίνουνσι ὅτι
 Αἰγυπτίη ἡ γυνή ἦν. Ἡ δὲ μαντιῇ ἢ τε ἐν Θήβησι
 τῇσι Αἰγυπτίησι καὶ ἐν Δωδώνῃ, παραπλήσιαι ἀλλήλησι
 τυγχάνουσι εἶναι. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱρῶν ἡ μαντικὴ
 ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπιγμένη.

Πανηγύρις δὲ ἄρα καὶ πομπὰς καὶ προσαγωγὰς πρῶ- 58
 τοι ἀνθρώπων Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσι οἱ ποιησάμενοι· καὶ παρὰ
 τούτων Ἕλληνες μεμαθήκασιν. τεκμήριον δὲ μοι τούτου,
 τόδε· αἱ μὲν γὰρ φαίνονται ἐκ πολλοῦ τευ χρόνου ποιεύ-
 μεναι· αἱ δὲ Ἑλληνικαὶ νεωστὶ ἐποιήθησαν. Πανηγυρί- 59
 ζουσι δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι οὐκ ἄπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, πανηγύρις δὲ
 συχνάς· μάλιστα μὲν καὶ προθυμότατα ἐς Βούβαστιν
 πόλιν, τῇ Ἀρτέμίδι. δεύτερα ἐς Βούσιριν πόλιν, τῇ Ἴσι·
 ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ δὴ τῇ πόλει ἐστὶ μέγιστον Ἴσιος ἱρόν. ἱδρυ-
 ται δὲ ἡ πόλις αὕτῃ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Δέλτα.
 Ἴσις δὲ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλώσσαν Δημήτηρ.
 τρίτα δ' ἐς Σαῖν πόλιν τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ πανηγυρίζουσι· τέ-
 тарта δὲ, ἐς Ἡλιούπολιν τῷ Ἡλίῳ· πέμπτα δὲ, ἐς Βου-
 τοῦν πόλιν τῇ Λητοί· ἕκτα δὲ, ἐς Πάπρημιν πόλιν τῷ
 Ἀρεϊ. Ἐς μὲν νυν Βούβαστιν πόλιν ἐπεὰν κομίζωνται, 60
 ποιεῖσι τοιαύδε. πλέουσιν τε γὰρ δὴ ἅμα ἄνδρες γυναῖξιν,
 καὶ πολλόν τι πλῆθος ἐκατέρων ἐν ἐκάστῃ βάρῃ. αἱ μὲν
 τινες τῶν γυναικῶν κρόταλα ἔχουσαι κροταλίζουσι, οἱ δὲ
 αὐλέουσι, κατὰ πάντα τὸν πλόον· αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ γυναῖκες
 καὶ ἄνδρες αἰεδοῦσι, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας κροτέουσι. ἐπεὰν δὲ

- πλέοντες κατὰ τινα πόλιν ἄλλην γένωνται, ἐγχερίμψαντες τὴν βάρυν τῇ γῇ, ποιεύσι τοιάδε. αἱ μὲν τινες τῶν γυναικῶν ποιεύσι τάπερ εἶρηκα. αἱ δὲ τωθάζουσι, βοῶσαι, τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ γυναικας· αἱ δ' ὀρχέονται· αἱ δ' ἀνασύρονται ἀνιστάμεναι. ταῦτα παρὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν παραποταμὴν ποιεύσι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπίκωνται ἐς τὴν Βούβαστιν, ὀρτάζουσι, μεγάλας ἀνάγοντες θυσίας· καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος ἀναισιμούται πλέον ἐν τῇ ὀρτῇ ταύτῃ ἢ ἐν τῷ ἅπαντι ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ ἐπιλοίπῳ. συμφοιτέωσι δὲ, ὅ τι ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνή ἐστι, πλὴν παιδίων, καὶ ἐς ἐβδομήκοντα μυριάδας, ὡς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ
- 61 ποιέεται. Ἐν δὲ Βουσίρι πόλι ὡς ἀνάγουσι τῇ Ἰσι τὴν ὀρτὴν, εἶρηται πρότερόν μοι. τύπτονται μὲν γὰρ δὴ μετὰ τὴν θυσίην πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι, μυριάδες κάρτα πολλὰ ἀνθρώπων. τὸν δὲ τύπτονται, οὗ μοι ὅσιόν ἐστι λέγειν. ὅσοι δὲ Καρῶν εἰσὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκέοντες, οὗτοι δὲ τοσούτῳ ἔτι πλέω ποιεύσι τούτων, ὅσῳ καὶ τὰ μέτωπα κόπτονται μαχαίρησι· καὶ τούτῳ εἰσὶ δῆλοι ὅτι εἰσὶ ξεῖνοι
- 62 καὶ οὐκ Αἰγύπτιοι. Ἐς Σαῖν δὲ πόλιν ἐπεὰν συλλεχθέωσι τῇσι θυσίῃσι, ἐν τινι νυκτὶ λύχνα καίουσι πάντες πολλὰ ὑπαιθρία περὶ τὰ δώματα κύκλῳ. τὰ δὲ λύχνα ἐστὶ ἐμβάφια ἔμπλεα ἀλὸς καὶ ἐλαίου· ἐπιπολῆς δὲ ἔπεστι αὐτὸ τὸ ἐλλύχνιον. καὶ τοῦτο καίεται παννύχιον· καὶ τῇ ὀρτῇ οὖνομα κέεται Λυχνοκαΐη. οἱ δ' ἂν μὴ ἔλθωσι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὴν πανήγυριν ταύτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν νύκτα τῆς θυσίης, καίουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες τὰ λύχνα· καὶ οὕτω οὐκ ἐν Σαῖ μόνῃ καίεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον. ὅτευ δὲ εἵνεκα φῶς ἔλαχε καὶ τιμὴν ἢ νύξ αὕτη, ἔστι ἱρὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος λεγόμενος.
- 63 Ἐς δὲ Ἡλίου πόλιν καὶ Βουτοῦν θυσίας μούνας ἐπιτελέουσι φοιτέοντες. ἐν δὲ Παπρήμι θυσίας μὲν καὶ ἱρά, κατάπερ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ, ποιεύσι. εὗτ' ἂν δὲ γίνηται καταφερῆς ὁ ἥλιος, ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες τῶν ἱρέων περὶ τῷγαλμα πεποιέαται· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, ξύλων κορύνας ἔχοντες, ἐστᾶσι τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ. ἄλλοι δὲ εὐχλωὰς ἐπιτελέοντες, πλεῖνες χιλίων ἀνδρῶν, ἕκαστοι ἔχοντες ξύλα καὶ οὗτοι, ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα ἀλέες ἐστᾶσι. τὸ δὲ ἀγαλμα, ἐὼν ἐν νηῷ μικρῷ ξυλλίνῳ κατακεχυρωμένῳ, προεκκομίζουσι

τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐς ἄλλο οἶκημα ἱρόν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ὀλίγοι οἱ
 περὶ τῷγαλμα λελειμμένοι, ἔλκουσι τετράκυκλον ἄμαξαν,
 ἄγουσαν τὸν νηόν τε καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ νηῷ ἐνεὸν ἄγαλμα. οἱ
 δὲ οὐκ ἔωσι, ἐν τοῖσι προπυλαίοισι ἐστέωτες, ἐσιέναι· οἱ
 δὲ εὐχωλιμαῖοι, τιμωρέοντες τῷ θεῷ, παίουσι αὐτοὺς
 ἀλεξομένους. ἐνθαῦτα μάχη ξύλοισι καρτερῇ γίνεται·
 κεφαλὰς τε συναράσσονται, καὶ ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, πολλοὶ
 καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι ἐκ τῶν τρωμάτων· οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε
 Αἰγύπτιοι ἔφασαν ἀποθνήσκειν οὐδένα. Τὴν δὲ πανή- 64
 γυριαν ταύτην ἐκ τοῦδε νομίσαι φασὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. οἰκέειν
 ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τούτῳ τοῦ Ἄρεος τὴν μητέρα· καὶ τὸν Ἄρεα
 ἀπότροφον γενόμενον, ἔλθειν ἐξανδρωμένον, ἐθέλοντα τῇ
 μητρὶ συμμίξαι· καὶ τοὺς προπόλους τῆς μητρὸς, οἷα οὐκ
 ὁπωπότης αὐτὸν πρότερον, οὐ περιορᾶν παριέναι, ἀλλ'
 ἀπερύκειν· τὸν δ' ἐξ ἄλλης πόλιος ἀγαγόμενον ἀνθρώ-
 πους, τοὺς τε προπόλους τρηχέως περισπεῖν, καὶ ἐσελθεῖν
 παρὰ τὴν μητέρα. ἀπὸ τούτου τῷ Ἀρεῖ ταύτην τὴν πλη-
 γὴν ἐν τῇ ὁρτῇ νενομικέναι φασί.

Καὶ τὸ μὴ μίσγεσθαι γυναῖξιν ἐν ἱροῖσι, μηδὲ ἀλού-
 τους ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἐς ἱρὰ ἐσιέναι, οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ πρῶτοι
 θρησκευσαντες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι σχεδὸν πάντες ἄνθρω-
 ποι, πλην Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων, μίσγονται ἐν ἱροῖσι·
 καὶ ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἀνιστάμενοι, ἄλουτοι ἐσέρχονται ἐς
 ἱρόν· νομίζοντες ἀνθρώπους εἶναι κατὰπερ τὰ ἄλλα κτή-
 νεα. καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα ὀρᾶν καὶ ὀρνίθων γένεα
 ὀχευόμενα ἐν τε τοῖσι νηοῖσι τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖσι
 τεμένεσι. εἰ ὦν εἶναι τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο μὴ φίλον, οὐκ ἂν
 οὐδὲ τὰ κτήνεα ποιεῖν. οὗτοι μὲν νυν τοιαῦτα ἐπιλέ-
 γοντες, ποιεῦσι ἐμοί γε οὐκ ἄρεστά. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ
 θρησκέουσι περισσῶς τὰ τε ἄλλα περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ, καὶ δὴ
 καὶ τάδε.

Ἐοῦσα δὲ Αἴγυπτος ὅμορος τῇ Λιβύῃ, οὐ μάλα 65
 θηριώδης ἐστί. τὰ δὲ ἑόντα σφὶ ἅπαντα ἱρὰ νενόμεσται
 καὶ τὰ μὲν, σύντροφα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι· τὰ δὲ,
 οὐ. τῶν δὲ εἵνεκεν ἀνεῖται τὰ ἱρὰ εἰ λέγοιμι, καταβαίνειν
 ἂν τῷ λόγῳ ἐς τὰ θεῖα πρήγματα, τὰ ἐγὼ φεύγω μάλιστα
 ἀπηγγέσθαι. τὰ δὲ καὶ εἰρηκα αὐτῶν ἐπιφάσας, ἀναγ-
 καίῃ καταλαμβανόμενος εἶπον. Νόμος δὲ ἐστὶ περὶ τῶν

θηρίων ὧδε ἔχων. μελεδωνοὶ ἀποδεδέχεται τῆς τροφῆς χωρὶς ἐκάστων, καὶ ἔρσενες καὶ θήλειαι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, τῶν παῖς παρὰ πατὴρ ἐκδέκεται τὴν τιμὴν. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇσι πόλισι ἕκαστοι εὐχὰς τάσδε σφι ἀποτελέουσιν· εὐχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ τοῦ ἂν ἡ τὸ θηρίον, ξυροῦντες τῶν παιδίων ἢ πᾶσαν τὴν κεφαλὴν, ἢ τὸ ἥμισυ, ἢ τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἰστᾷσι σταθμῷ πρὸς ἀργύριον τὰς τρίχας· τὸ δ' ἂν ἐλκύσῃ, τοῦτο τῇ μελεδωνῷ τῶν θηρίων διδοῖ. ἢ δ' αὐτ' αὐτοῦ τάμνουσα ἰχθύς, παρέχει βορὴν τοῖσι θηρίοις. τροφή μὲν δὴ αὐτοῖσι τοιαύτη ἀποδέδεκται. Τὸ δ' ἂν τις τῶν θηρίων τούτων ἀποκτείνῃ, ἢν μὲν ἐκὼν, θάνατος ἢ ζημίη· ἢν δὲ ἀέκων, ἀποτίνει ζημίην τὴν ἂν οἱ ἱρέες τάξωνται. ὅς δ' ἂν ἱβὺν ἢ ἱρηκα ἀποκτείνῃ, ἢν τε ἐκὼν, 66 ἢν τε ἀέκων, τεθνάναι ἀνάγκη. Πολλῶν δὲ ἑόντων ὁμοτρόφων τοῖσι ἀνθρώποις θηρίων, πολλῷ ἂν ἔτι πλεῶν ἐγίνετο, εἰ μὴ κατελάμβανε τοὺς αἰελοῦρους τοιάδε. Ἐπειὰν τέκωσι αἱ θήλειαι, οὐκέτι φοιτεύουσι παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενας· οἱ δὲ, διζήμενοι μίσγεσθαι αὐτῇσι, οὐκ ἔχουσι. πρὸς ὧν ταῦτα σοφίζονται τάδε· ἀρπάζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν θηλέων καὶ ὑπαιρεόμενοι τὰ τέκνα, κτείνουσι. κτείναντες μέντοι, οὐ πατέονται. αἱ δὲ, στερισκόμεναι τῶν τέκνων, ἄλλων δὲ ἐπιθυμέουσαι, οὕτω δὴ ἀπικνέονται παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενας· φιλότεκνον δὲ τὸ θηρίον. πυρκαϊῆς δὲ γενομένης, θεῖα πρήγματα καταλαμβάνει τοὺς αἰελοῦρους. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι διαστάντες φυλακὰς ἔχουσι τῶν αἰελοῦρων, ἀμελήσαντες σβεννύναι τὸ καίόμενον· οἱ δὲ αἰέλουροι, διαδύοντες καὶ ὑπερθρώσκοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἐσάλλονται ἐς τὸ πῦρ. ταῦτα δὲ γινόμενα, πένθεα μεγάλα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καταλαμβάνει. ἐν ὁίοις δ' ἂν οἰκίοις αἰέλουρος ἀποθάνῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, οἱ ἐνοικέοντες πάντες ξυρέονται τὰς ὀφρύας μούνας· παρ' ὁίοις δ' ἂν 67 κύων, πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν. Ἀπαγέεται δὲ οἱ αἰέλουροι ἀποθανόντες ἐς ἱρὰς στέγας, ἔνθα θάπτονται ταριχευθέντες ἐν Βουβάστι πόλι. τὰς δὲ κύνας ἐν τῇ ἐωυτῶν ἕκαστοι πόλι θάπτουσι ἐν ἱρήσι θήκησι. ὥς δὲ αὕτως τῇσι κυσὶ οἱ ἰχνευταὶ θάπτονται. τὰς δὲ μυγαλὰς καὶ τοὺς ἱρηκας ἀπάγουσι ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν· τὰς δὲ ἱβὺς ἐς Ἐρμέω πόλιν. τὰς δὲ ἄρκτους, εἰούσας σπανίας, καὶ

τοὺς λύκους, οὐ πολλῶ τέῳ ἔοντας ἀλωπέκων μέζοντας, αὐτοῦ θάπτουσι τῇ ἂν εὐρεθέωσι κείμενοι.

Τῶν δὲ κροκοδείλων ἡ φύσις ἐστὶ τοιήδε. τοὺς χειμε- 68
ριωτάτους μῆνας τέσσερας ἐσθίει οὐδέν. ἐὼν δὲ τετρά-
πουν, χερσαῖον καὶ λιμναῖόν ἐστι· τίκτει μὲν γὰρ ὡὰ ἐν
γῇ, καὶ ἐκλέπει, καὶ τὸ πολλὸν τῆς ἡμέρης διατρίβει ἐν
τῷ ξηρῷ, τὴν δὲ νύκτα πᾶσαν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ· θερμότερον
γὰρ δὴ ἐστὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς τε αἰθρίας καὶ τῆς δρόσου.
πάντων δὲ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν θνητῶν, τοῦτο ἐξ ἐλαχίστου
μέγιστον γίνεται. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὡὰ, χηνέων οὐ πολλῶ
μέζονα τίκτει· καὶ ὁ νεοσσὸς κατὰ λόγον τοῦ ὡοῦ γίνεται·
αὐξανόμενος δέ, γίνεται καὶ ἐς ἐπτακαίδεκα πῆχας, καὶ
μέζων ἔτι. ἔχει δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς μὲν ὕς, ὀδόντας δὲ μεγά-
λους καὶ χαυλιόδοντας, κατὰ λόγον τοῦ σώματος. γλῶσ-
σαν δὲ μῦνον θηρίων οὐκ ἔφυσε· οὐδὲ τὴν κάτω κινεῖ
γνάθον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο μῦνον θηρίων τὴν ἄνω γνάθον
προσάγει τῇ κάτω. ἔχει δὲ καὶ ὄνυχας καρτεροὺς, καὶ
δέρμα λεπιδωτὸν, ἄρρηκτον ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου. τυφλὸν δὲ ἐν
ὑδατι, ἐν δὲ τῇ αἰθρίῃ ὀξυδερκέστατον. ἅτε δὴ ὦν ἐν ὑδατι
δαίταν ποιούμενον, τὸ στόμα ἐνδοθεν φορέει πᾶν μεστὸν
βδελλέων. τὰ μὲν δὲ ἄλλα ὄρνεα καὶ θηρία φεύγει μιν·
ὁ δὲ τροχίλος εἰρηναῖον οἱ ἐστὶ, ἅτε ὠφελεομένῳ πρὸς
αὐτοῦ. ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβῇ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ὁ κρο-
κόδειλος, καὶ ἔπειτα χάνῃ (ἔωθε γὰρ τοῦτο ὡς ἐπίπαν
ποιεῖν πρὸς τὸν ζέφυρον,) ἐνθαῦτα ὁ τροχίλος ἐσδύνων
ἐς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, καταπίνει τὰς βδέλλας· ὁ δὲ, ὠφελεύ-
μενος ἡδεται, καὶ οὐδὲν σίνεται τὸν τροχίλον. Τοῖσι μὲν 69
δὴ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱροὶ εἰσι οἱ κροκοδείλοι· τοῖσι δ' οὐ,
ἀλλ' ἅτε πολεμίους περιέπουσι. οἱ δὲ περὶ τε Θήβας καὶ
τὴν Μοῖριος λίμνην οἰκέοντες, καὶ κάρτα ἡγνυται αὐτοὺς
εἶναι ἱρούς. ἐκ πάντων δὲ ἓνα ἑκάτεροι τρέφουσι κροκό-
δειλον, δεδιδαγμένοι εἶναι χειροῖθεα· ἀρτήματά τε λίθινα
χρυσὰ καὶ χρύσεια ἐς τὰ ὦτα ἐνθέντες, καὶ ἀμφιδέας περὶ
τοὺς προσθίους πόδας, καὶ σιτία ἀπότακτα διδόντες καὶ
ἱρήϊα, καὶ περιέποντες ὡς κάλλιστα ζῶοντας, ἀποθανόντας
δὲ ταριχεύοντες θάπτουσι ἐν ἱρήσι θήκησι. οἱ δὲ περὶ
Ἐλεφαντίνην πόλιν οἰκέοντες, καὶ ἐσθίουσι αὐτοὺς οὐκ
ἡγεόμενοι ἱρούς εἶναι. Καλέονται δὲ οὐ κροκόδειλοι, ἀλλὰ

χάμψαι. κροκοδείλους δὲ Ἴωνες ὠνόμασαν, εἰκάζοντες αὐτῶν τὰ εἶδεα τοῖσι παρὰ σφίσι γινομένοισι κροκοδείλοισι
 70 τοῖσι ἐν τῇσι αἵμασιῇσι. Ἄγραι δὲ σφρων πολλαὶ κατε-
 στέασι, καὶ παντοδαῖ· ἥ δ' ὦν ἐμοί γε δοκέει ἀξιοτάτη
 ἀπηγγήσιος εἶναι, ταύτην γράφω. ἐπεὰν νῶτον υἱὸς δελεάσῃ
 περὶ ἄγκιστρον, μετίει ἐς μέσον τὸν ποταμόν· αὐτὸς δὲ
 ἐπὶ τοῦ χεῖλεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔχων δέλφακα ζῶν, ταύτην
 τύπτει. ἐπακούσας δὲ τῆς φωνῆς ὁ κροκόδειλος, ἵεται
 κατὰ τὴν φωνήν· ἐντυχὼν δὲ τῷ νώτῳ, καταπίνει· οἱ δὲ
 ἔλκουσι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐξελκυσθῇ ἐς γῆν, πρῶτον ἀπάντων ὁ
 θηρευτῆς πηλῶ κατ' ὦν ἔπλασε αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς·
 τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας, κάρτα εὐπετέως τὰ λοιπὰ χειροῦται
 μὴ ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο, σὺν πόνῳ.

71 Οἱ δὲ ἵπποι οἱ ποτάμιοι νομῶ μὲν τῷ Παπρημίτῃ
 ἱροὶ εἰσι, τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι οὐκ ἱροί. φύσιν
 δὲ παρέχονται ἰδέης τοιήνδε· τετράπουν ἐστὶ, δίχληλον,
 ὅπλαϊ βοῶς, σιμὸν, λοφιὴν ἔχον ἵππου, χαυλιόδοντας
 φαῖνον, οὐρὴν ἵππου καὶ φωνήν· μέγαθος, ὅσον τε βοῶς ὁ
 μέγιστος· τὸ δέρμα δ' αὐτοῦ οὕτω δὴ τι παχὺ ἐστὶ, ὥστε
 72 αὐτοῦ γενομένου, ξυστὰ ποιέεσθαι ἀκόντια ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Γί-
 νονται δὲ καὶ ἐνύδριες ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ, τὰς ἱρὰς ἡγνυται
 εἶναι. νομίζουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων τὸν καλεούμενον λεπι-
 δωτὸν ἱρὸν εἶναι, καὶ τὴν ἔγχελυν. ἱρούς δὲ τούτους τοῦ
 Νείλου φασὶ εἶναι· καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων τοὺς χηναλώπεκας.

73 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὄρνις ἱρὸς, τῷ οὐνομα φοῖνιξ· ἐγὼ
 μὲν μιν οὐκ εἶδον, εἰ μὴ ὅσον γραφῇ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ
 σπάνιος ἐπιφοιτᾷ σφι, διὰ ἐτέων (ὥς Ἑλιουπολίται
 λέγουσι) πεντακοσίων. φοιτᾷν δὲ τότε φασὶ, ἐπεὰν οἱ
 ἀποθάῃ ὁ πατήρ. ἐστὶ δὲ, εἰ τῇ γραφῇ παρόμοιος,
 τοσόσδε καὶ τοιόσδε· τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ χρυσόκομα τῶν
 πτερῶν, τὰ δὲ, ἐρυθρά· ἐς τὰ μάλιστα αἰετῷ περιήγησιν
 ὁμοιότατος, καὶ τὸ μέγαθος. Τοῦτον δὲ λέγουσι μηχα-
 νᾶσθαι τάδε, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες· ἐξ Ἀραβίης
 ὀρμεώμενον, ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ Ἑλίου κομίζειν τὸν πατέρα,
 ἐν σμύρνῃ ἐμπλάσσοντα, καὶ θάπτειν ἐν τοῦ Ἑλίου τῷ
 ἱρῷ. κομίζειν δὲ οὕτω· πρῶτον, τῆς σμύρνης ὠν πλάσ-
 σειν ὅσον τε δυνατός ἐστι φέρειν· μετὰ δὲ, πειρᾶσθαι
 αὐτὸ φορέοντα· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀποπειρηθῇ, οὕτω δὴ κοιλήναντα

τὸ ὦν, τὸν πατέρα ἐς αὐτὸ ἐντιθέναι, σμύρνη δὲ ἄλλη ἐμπλάσσειν τοῦτο κατ' ὃ τι τοῦ ὠοῦ ἐγκοιλίῃνας ἐνέθηκε τὸν πατέρα· ἐσκειμένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς, γίνεσθαι τὸν τὸ βάρος· ἐμπλάσαντα δὲ, κομίζειν μιν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐς τοῦ Ἥλιου τὸ ἱρόν. ταῦτα μὲν τοῦτον τὸν ὄρνιν λέγουσι ποιέειν.

Εἰσὶ δὲ περὶ Θήβας ἱροὶ ὄφεις, ἀνθρώπων οὐδαμῶς 74
δηλήμονες· οἱ μεγάθεϊ ἔοντες μικροὶ, δύο κέρα φορέουσι, πεφυκότα ἐξ ἄκρης τῆς κεφαλῆς. τοὺς θάπτουσι ἀποθανόντας ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Διός· τοῦτον γάρ σφεας τοῦ θεοῦ φασὶ εἶναι ἱρούς. Ἔστι δὲ χώρος τῆς Ἀραβίης, κατὰ 75
Βουτοῦν πόλιν μάλιστά κη κείμενος· καὶ ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἦλθον, πυνθανόμενος περὶ τῶν πτερωτῶν ὀφίων. ἀπικόμενος δὲ, εἶδον ὅστέα ὀφίων καὶ ἀκανθας, πλήθει μὲν ἀδύνατα ἀπηγήσασθαι· σωροὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἀκανθέων καὶ μεγάλων, καὶ ὑποδεέστεροι, καὶ ἐλάσσονες ἔτι τούτων πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι. ἔστι δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος, ἐν τῷ αἰ ἀκανθαι κατακεχύαται, τοιόσδε τις· ἐσβολὴ ἐξ οὐρέων στενωπῶν ἐς πεδίον μέγα· τὸ δὲ πεδίον τοῦτο συνάπτει τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ πεδίῳ. λόγος δὲ ἔστι, ἅμα τῷ ἔاري πτερωτοὺς ὄφιν ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίης πέτεσθαι ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου· τὰς δὲ ἱβίς τὰς ὀρνιθας ἀπαντώσας ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτης τῆς χώρας, οὐ παρίεναι τοὺς ὄφιν, ἀλλὰ κατακτείνειν. καὶ τὴν ἱβιν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον τετιμῆσθαι λέγουσι Ἀράβιοι μεγάλως πρὸς Αἰγυπτίῳ· ὁμολογέουσι δὲ καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι 76
διὰ ταῦτα τιμᾶν τὰς ὀρνιθας ταύτας. Εἶδος δὲ τῆς μὲν ἱβίος τόδε. μέλαινα δεινῶς πᾶσα, σκέλεα δὲ φορέει γέρανου, πρόσωπον δὲ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπίγρυπον, μέγαθος ὅσον κρέξ. τῶν μὲν δὴ μελαινέων, τῶν μαχομένων πρὸς τοὺς ὄφιν, ἦδε ἰδέη. τῶν δ' ἐν ποσὶ μᾶλλον εἰλευμένων τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι· (διξαὶ γὰρ δὴ εἰσι αἱ ἱβίς)· ψιλὴ τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ τὴν δειρὴν πᾶσαν· λευκὴ πτεροῖσι, πλὴν κεφαλῆς καὶ τοῦ αὐχένος καὶ ἄκρων τῶν πτερύγων καὶ τοῦ πυγαίου ἄκρου· ταῦτα δὲ τὰ εἶπον πάντα, μέλαινά ἐστι δεινῶς· σκέλεα δὲ καὶ πρόσωπον, ἐμφορῆς τῇ ἐτέρῃ. τοῦ δὲ ὄφιος ἡ μορφή, οἷα περ τῶν ὕδρων. πτίλα δὲ οὐ πτερωτὰ φορέει, ἀλλὰ τοῖσι τῆς νυκτερίδος πτεροῖσι μάλιστά κη ἐμφορέστατα. Τοσαῦτα μὲν θηρίων περὶ ἱρῶν εἰρήσθω.

- 77 Αὐτῶν δὲ δὴ Αἰγυπτίων, οἳ μὲν περὶ τὴν σπειρομένην Αἴγυπτον οἰκεύουσι, μνήμην ἀνθρώπων πάντων ἐπασκέοντες μάλιστα, λογιώτατοί εἰσι μακρῷ τῶν ἐγὼ ἐς διάπειραν ἀπικόμην. Τρόπῳ δὲ ζῆς τοιῷδε διαχρέωνται. Συρμαΐζουσι τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπεξῆς μηνὸς ἐκάστου, ἐμέτοισι θηρώμενοι τὴν ὑγίειν καὶ κλύσμασι, νομίζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν τρεφόντων σιτίων πάσας τὰς νοῦσους τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι γίνεσθαι. εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ Λίβυας ὑγιηρέστατοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ὥρέων (δοκέειν ἐμοὶ) εἶνεκεν, ὅτι οὐ μεταλλάσσουσι αἱ ὥραι. ἐν γὰρ τῇσι μεταβολῇσι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι αἱ νοῦσοι μάλιστα γίνονται, τῶν τε ἄλλων πάντων, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ὥρέων μάλιστα. Ἄρτοφαγέουσι δὲ, ἐκ τῶν ὀλυρέων ποιεῦντες ἄρτους, τοὺς ἐκεῖνοι κυλλήστις ὀνομάζουσι. οἷνῳ δ' ἐκ κριθῶν πεποιημένῳ διαχρέωνται· οὐ γὰρ σφί εἰσι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ἄμπελοι. ἰχθύων δὲ τοὺς μὲν, πρὸς ἥλιον αὐγνάντες, ὠμούς σιτεύονται· τοὺς δὲ, ἐξ ἄλμης τεταριχευμένους. ὀρνίθων δὲ τοὺς τε ὄρτυγας, καὶ τὰς νήσσας, καὶ τὰ σμικρὰ τῶν ὀρνιθίων, ὠμὰ σιτεύονται, προταριχεύσαντες. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅσα ἢ ὀρνίθων ἢ ἰχθύων ἐστί σφι ἐχόμενα, χωρὶς ἢ ὁκόσοι σφι ἱροὶ ἀποδεδέχαται, τοὺς λοιποὺς 78 ὀπτοὺς καὶ ἐφθοὺς σιτεύονται. Ἐν δὲ τῇσι συνουσίῃσι, τοῖσι εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν, ἐπεὰν ἀπὸ δείπνος γένωνται, περιφέρει ἀνὴρ νεκρὸν ἐν σορῷ ξύλινον πεποιημένον, μεμιμημένον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ γραφῇ καὶ ἔργῳ, μέγαθος ὅσον τε πάντῃ πηχυαῖον, ἢ δίπηχυν· δεικνὺς δὲ ἐκάστῳ τῶν συμποτέων, λέγει· “Ἐς τοῦτον ὀρέων, πίνε τε καὶ “τέρπευ· ἔσσαι γὰρ ἀποθανὼν τοιοῦτος.” Ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὰ συμπόσια ποιεῦσι.
- 79 Πατρίοισι δὲ χρεώμενοι νόμοισι, ἄλλον οὐδένα ἐπικτένεται. τοῖσι ἄλλα τε ἐπάξιά ἐστι νόμιμα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄεισμα ἐν ἐστί Λίνος, ὅσπερ ἐν τε Φοινίκῃ αἰδιδμός ἐστι καὶ ἐν Κύπρῳ, καὶ ἄλλῃ· κατὰ μέντοι ἔθνεα οὐνομα ἔχει, συμφέρεται δὲ αὐτὸς εἶναι τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Λίνον ὀνομάζοντες αἰδιδουσι. ὥστε πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποθουμάζειν με τῶν περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐντῶν, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Λίνον ὁκόθεν ἔλαβον φαίνονται δὲ αἰεὶ κοτε τοῦτον αἰδιδοντες. ἐστί δὲ Αἰγυπτιστὶ ὁ Λίνος καλεῦμενος Μανέρως. ἔφασαν

δέ μιν Αἰγύπτιοι τοῦ πρώτου βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου παῖδα μονογενέα γενέσθαι· ἀποθανόντα δ' αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον, θρήνοισι τούτοις ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων τιμηθῆναι καὶ αἰοιδῆναι τε ταύτην πρώτην καὶ μούνην σφίσι γενέσθαι. Συμφέ- 80 ρονται δὲ καὶ τότε ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι Ἑλλήνων μούνοισι Λακεδαιμονίοισι. οἱ νεώτεροι αὐτῶν τοῖσι πρεσβυτέροισι συντυγχάνοντες, εἴκουσι τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἐκτράπονται καὶ ἐπιούσι, ἐξ ἔδρης ὑπανιστάται. Τόδε μέντοι ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων οὐδαμοῖσι συμφέρονται· ἀντὶ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλήλους ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι, προσκυνέουσι κατιέντες μέχρι τοῦ γούνατος τὴν χεῖρα. Ἐνδεύκασι δὲ κιθῶνας 81 λινέους, περὶ τὰ σκέλεα θυσανωτοὺς, οὓς καλέουσι καλασίρις· ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ εἰρίνεα εἴματα λευκὰ ἐπαναβληδὸν φορέουσι. οὐ μέντοι ἔς γε τὰ ἱρά ἐσφέρεται εἰρίνεα, οὐδὲ συγκαταθάπτεται σφί· οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον. ὁμολογέουσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Ὀρφικοῖσι καλεομένοις καὶ Βακχικοῖσι, ἐοῦσι δὲ Αἰγυπτίοις, καὶ Πυθαγορείοις. οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ὀργίων μετέχοντα ὅσιόν ἐστι ἐν εἰρινέοις εἴμασι θαφθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἱρὸς λόγος λεγόμενος.

Καὶ τάδε ἄλλα Αἰγυπτίοις ἐστι ἐξευρημένα· μὲς τε 82 καὶ ἡμέρη ἐκάστη θεῶν ὅτεν ἐστί· καὶ τῇ ἑκάστῃ ἡμέρῃ γενόμενος, ὅτεοις ἐγκυρήσει, καὶ ὅκως τελευτήσῃ, καὶ ὁκοῖός τις ἔσται. καὶ τούτοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἐν ποιήσει γενόμενοι ἐχρήσαντο. Τέρατά τε πλέα σφί ἀνεύρηται ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις. γενομένου γὰρ τέρατος, φυλάσσουνσι γραφόμενοι τῷ ποβαίνον· καὶ ἢν κοτε ὕστερον παραπλήσιον τούτῳ γένηται, κατὰ τὸν νότον νομίζουσι ἀποβήσεσθαι. Μαντική δὲ αὐτοῖς ὧδε δια- 83 κέεται. ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδενὶ προσκείται ἡ τέχνη, τῶν δὲ θεῶν μετεξέτεροις. καὶ γὰρ Ἡρακλῆος μαντήϊον αὐτόθι ἐστί, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ Ἀθηναίης, καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ Ἄρεος, καὶ Διός· καὶ ὅγε μάλιστα ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται πάντων τῶν μαντήϊων, Λητοῦς ἐν Βουτοῖ πόλει ἐστί. οὐ μέντοι αἶ γε μαντήϊαί σφί κατὰ τὸν νότον ἐστᾶσι, ἀλλὰ διάφοροί εἰσι. Ἡ δὲ ἱητρικὴ κατὰ τάδε σφί δέδασται. 84 μῆς νούσου ἑκάστος ἱητρός ἐστι, καὶ οὐ πλεόνων. πάντα δ' ἱητρῶν ἐστὶ πλέα. οἱ μὲν γὰρ, ὀφθαλμῶν ἱητροὶ κατε-

στέασι· οἱ δὲ, κεφαλῆς· οἱ δὲ, ὀδόντων· οἱ δὲ, τῶν κατὰ νηδύν· οἱ δὲ, τῶν ἀφανέων νούσων.

- 85 Ὅρηνοι δὲ καὶ ταφαί σφρων, εἰσὶ αἶδε. τοῖσι ἂν ἀπογένηται ἐκ τῶν οἰκίῳ ἀνθρώπος, τοῦ τις καὶ λόγος ἦ, τὸ θῆλυ γένος πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τῶν οἰκίῳ τούτων κατ' ὧν ἐπλάσαστο τὴν κεφαλὴν πηλῷ ἢ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον. κᾶπειτα ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι λιποῦσαι τὸν νεκρὸν, αὐταὶ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν στρωφώμεναι, τύπτονται ἐπέζωσμένοι, καὶ φαίνουσαι τοὺς μαζούς· σὺν δέ σφι αἱ προσήκουσαι πᾶσαι. ἐτέρωθεν δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες τύπτονται, ἐπέζωσμένοι καὶ οὗτοι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, οὕτω ἐς τὴν ταρίχευσιν κομίζουσι. 86 Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατέαται, καὶ τέχνην ἔχουσι ταύτην. οὗτοι, ἐπεὰν σφι κομισθῇ νεκρὸς, δεικνύασι τοῖσι κομίσασι παραδείγματα νεκρῶν ξύλινα, τῇ γραφῇ μεμιμημένα. καὶ τὴν μὲν σπουδαιοτάτην αὐτέων φασὶ εἶναι, τοῦ οὐκ ὅσιον ποιεῦναι τὸ οὐνομα ἐπὶ τοιοῦτῳ πρήγματι ὀνομάζειν. τὴν δὲ δευτέραν δεικνύασι ὑποδεεστέραν τε ταύτης καὶ εὐτελεστέραν· τὴν δὲ τρίτην, εὐτελεστάτην. φράσαντες δὲ, πυνθάνονται παρ' αὐτῶν κατὰ ἥντινα βούλονται σφι σκευασθῆναι τὸν νεκρὸν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐκποδῶν, μισθῷ ὁμολογήσαντες, ἀπαλλάσσονται· οἱ δὲ ὑπολειπόμενοι ἐν οἰκήμασι, ὧδε τὰ σπουδαιοτάτα ταριχεύουσι. πρῶτα μὲν σκολιῷ σιδήρῳ διὰ τῶν μυζωτήρων ἐξάγουσι τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ οὕτω ἐξάγοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐγχεόντες φάρμακα. ἔπειτα δὲ, λίθῳ Αἰθιοπικῷ ὀξεῖ παρασχίσαντες παρὰ τὴν λαπάρην, ἐξ ὧν εἶλον τὴν κοιλίην πᾶσαν· ἐκκαθήραντες δὲ αὐτὴν, καὶ διηθήσαντες οἶνῳ φοινικίῳ, αὐτὴν διηθέουσι θυμὴμασι τετριμμένοις, ἔπειτα τὴν νηδὺν σμύρνης ἀκηράτου τετριμμένης, καὶ κασίης, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυωμάτων, πλὴν λιβανωτοῦ, πλήσαντες, συρράπτουσι ὀπίσω. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, ταριχεύουσι λίτρῳ, κρύψαντες ἡμέρας ἑβδομήκοντα· πλεῦνας δὲ τουτέων οὐκ ἔξεστι ταριχεύειν. ἐπεὰν δὲ παρέλθωσι αἱ ἑβδομήκοντα, λούσαντες τὸν νεκρὸν, κατελίσσουσι πᾶν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα σινδόνης βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι κατατετμημένοις, ὑποχρίοντες τῷ κόμμῳ, τῷ δὲ ἅντὶ κόλλης τὰ πολλὰ χρέωνται Αἰγύπτιοι. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ παραδεξάμενοί μιν οἱ προσήκοντες, ποιεῦνται ξύλινον

τύπον ἀνθρωποειδέα· ποιησάμενοι δὲ, ἐσεργυῖσι τὸν νεκρὸν καὶ κατακληῖσαντες οὕτω, θησαυρίζουσι ἐν οἰκῇ-
 ματι θηκαίῳ, ἰστάντες ὀρθὸν πρὸς τοίχον. οὕτω μὲν τοὺς
 τὰ πολυτελέστατα σκευάζουσι νεκρούς. Τοὺς δὲ τὰ μέσα 87
 βουλομένους, τὴν δὲ πολυτελεῖαν φεύγοντας, σκευάζουσι
 ὥδε. ἐπεὰν τοὺς κλυστήρας πλήσωνται τοῦ ἀπὸ κέδρου
 ἀλείφατος γινομένου, ἐν ᾧν ἔπλησαν τοῦ νεκροῦ τὴν κοι-
 λήν, οὔτε ἀναταμόντες αὐτὸν, οὔτε ἐξελόντες τὴν νηδὺν,
 κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑδρὴν ἐσηθήσαντες· καὶ ἐπιλαβόντες τὸ
 κλύσμα τῆς ὀπίσω ὁδοῦ, ταριχεύουσι τὰς προκειμένας
 ἡμέρας· τῇ δὲ τελευταίῃ ἐξιείσι ἐκ τῆς κοιλίης τὴν κε-
 δρίην, τὴν ἐσήκαν πρότερον· ἡ δὲ ἔχει τοσαύτην δύναμιν,
 ὥστε ἅμα ἐωυτῇ τὴν νηδὺν καὶ τὰ σπλάγγνα κατατε-
 τηκότα ἐξάγει· τὰς δὲ σάρκας τὸ λίτρον κατατῆκει· καὶ
 δὴ λείπεται τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ δέρμα μούνον, καὶ τὰ ὀστέα.
 ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, ἀπ' ᾧν ἔδωκαν οὕτω τὸν νε-
 κρὸν, οὐδὲν ἔτι πρηγματευθέντες. Ἡ δὲ τρίτη ταρί- 88
 χευσίς ἐστι ἡδε, ἣ τοὺς χρήμασι ἀσθενεστέρους σκευάζει.
 συρμαῖη διηθήσαντες τὴν κοιλίην, ταριχεύουσι τὰς ἐβδο-
 μήκοντα ἡμέρας, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπ' ᾧν ἔδωκαν ἀποφέρεσθαι. ✓
 Τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, ἐπεὰν τελευτή- 89
 σωσι, οὐ παραντίκα διδοῦσι ταριχεύειν, οὐδὲ ὅσαι ἂν ὥσι
 εὐειδέες κάρτα καὶ λόγου πλεῖνος γυναῖκες· ἀλλ' ἐπεὰν
 τριταῖαι ἢ τεταρταῖαι γένωνται, οὕτω παραδιδούσι τοῖσι
 ταριχεύουσι. τοῦτο δὲ ποίεονσι οὕτω τοῦδε εἵνεκεν, ἵνα
 μὴ σφί οἱ ταριχευταὶ μίσγωνται τῇσι γυναιξί. λαμφθῆ-
 ναι γάρ τινά φασι μισγόμενον νεκρῷ προσφάτω γυναικός·
 κατεῖπαι δὲ τὸν ὁμοτέχνον. Ὅς δ' ἂν ἡ αὐτῶν Αἰγυ- 90
 πτίων, ἢ ξείνων ὁμοίως, ὑπὸ κροκοδείλου ἀρπαχθεὶς ἢ
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φαίνεται τεθνηώς, κατ' ἣν ἂν
 πόλιν ἐξενειχθῇ, τούτους πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ταριχεύ-
 σαντας αὐτὸν, καὶ περιστείλαντας ὡς κάλλιστα, θάψαι
 ἐν ἱρήσι θήκησι. οὐδὲ ψαῦσαι ἔξεστι αὐτοῦ ἄλλον οὐδένα,
 οὔτε τῶν προσηκόντων, οὔτε τῶν φίλων· ἀλλὰ μιν οἱ
 ἱερεῖς αὐτοὶ οἱ τοῦ Νείλου, ἅτε πλέον τι ἢ ἀνθρώπου
 νεκρὸν, χειραπτάζοντες θάπτουσι. ✓

Ἑλλημκοῖσι δὲ νομαλοῖσι φεύγουσι χρᾶσθαι· τὸ δὲ 91
 σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, μὴδ' ἄλλων μηδαμὰ μηδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων

νομαίοισι. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι οὕτω τοῦτο φυλάσσουσι. ἔστι δὲ Χέμμις πόλις μεγάλη νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ, ἐγγὺς Νέης πόλιος. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ἐστὶ Περσέος τοῦ Δαναῆς ἱρὸν τετράγωνον· περίξ δὲ αὐτοῦ φοῖνικες πεφύκασιν· τὰ δὲ πρόπυλα τοῦ ἱεροῦ λίθινά ἐστι, κάρτα μεγάλα· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἀνδριάντες δύο ἐστᾶσι λίθινοι μεγάλοι. ἐν δὲ τῷ περιβεβλημένῳ τούτῳ νηὸς τε ἔνι, καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνέστηκε τοῦ Περσέος. οὗτοι οἱ Χεμμῖται λέγουσι τὸν Περσέα πολλάκι μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν γῆν φαίνεσθαι σφί, πολλάκι δὲ ἔσω τοῦ ἱεροῦ. σανδάλιον τε αὐτοῦ πεφορημένον εὑρίσκεσθαι, ἐὼν τὸ μέγαθος δίπηχυν· τὸ ἐπεὰν φανῇ, εὐθηνέειν ἅπασαν Αἴγυπτον. ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι. ποιεῦσι δὲ τάδε Ἑλληνικὰ τῷ Περσέϊ· ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν τιθεῖσι διὰ πάσης ἀγωνίης ἔχοντα· παρέχοντες ἄεθλα, κτήνεα καὶ χλαῖνας καὶ δέρματα. εἰρομένου δέ μιν ὅ τι σφί μούνοισι ἔωθε ὁ Περσεὺς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι, καὶ ὅ τι κεχωριδάται Αἰγυπτίων τῶν ἄλλων, ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν τιθέντες, ἔφασαν “τὸν Περσέα ἐκ τῆς ἐωυτῶν πόλιος “γεγονέναι· τὸν γὰρ Δαναὸν καὶ τὸν Λυγκέα, ἔοντας “Χεμμίτας, ἐκπλώσαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.” ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γενεηλογέοντες, κατέβαινον ἐς τὸν Περσέα. “ἀπικόμενον “δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Αἴγυπτον, κατ’ αἰτήν τὴν καὶ Ἕλληνες “λέγουσι, οἴσουτα ἐκ Λιβύης τὴν Γοργοῦς κεφαλὴν, ἔφασαν ἔλθειν καὶ παρὰ σφέας, καὶ ἀναγνῶναι τοὺς συγγενέας πάντας· ἐκμεμαθηκότα δὲ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον τὸ τῆς Χέμμιος οὐνομα, πεπυσμένον παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς· ἀγῶνα δὲ οἱ γυμνικόν, αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος, ἐπιτελεῖν.”

92 Ταῦτα μὲν πάντα οἱ κατύπερθε τῶν ἐλέων οἰκέοντες Αἰγύπτιοι νομίζουσι. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἐν τοῖσι ἔλεσι κατοικημένοι, τοῖσι μὲν αὐτοῖσι νόμοισι χρέωνται τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι· καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, καὶ γυναικὶ μὴ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν συνοικέει, κατὰπερ Ἕλληνες. Ἀτὰρ πρὸς εὐτελέην τῶν σιτίων τάδε σφί ἄλλα ἐξεύρηται. ἐπεὰν πλήρης γένηται ὁ ποταμὸς, καὶ τὰ πεδία πελαγίσῃ, φύεται ἐν τῷ ὕδατι κρίνεα πολλὰ, τὰ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι λωτὸν· ταῦτα ἐπεὰν δρέψωσι, αὐαίνουσι πρὸς ἥλιον· καὶ ἔπειτα τὸ ἐκ μέσου τοῦ λωτοῦ, τῇ μήκῃ ἐὼν ἐμφερές, πτί-

σαντες, ποιεῦνται ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἄρτους ὀπτοὺς πυρί. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ λωτῷ τούτου ἐδωδίμη, καὶ ἐγγλύσσει ἐπιεικέως, ἐὼν στρογγύλον, μέγαθος κατὰ μῆλον. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κρίνεα ῥόδοισι ἐμφερέα, ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ γινόμενα καὶ ταῦτα· ἐξ ὧν ὁ καρπὸς ἐν ἄλλῃ κάλυκι παραφυομένη ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης γίνεται, κηρίῳ σφηκῶν ἰδέην ὁμοιότατον. ἐν τούτῳ τρωκτὰ ὅσον τε πυρὴν ἐλαίης ἐγγίνεται συχνά. τρώγεται δὲ καὶ ἀπαλὰ ταῦτα καὶ αὔα. Τὴν δὲ βύβλον τὴν ἐπέτειον γινομένην, ἐπεὰν ἀνασπᾶσῃ ἐκ τῶν ἐλέων, τὰ μὲν ἄνω αὐτῆς ἀποτάμνοντες, ἐς ἄλλο τι τράπουσι· τὸ δὲ κάτω λελειμμένον ὅσον τε ἐπὶ πῆχυν, τρώγουσι, καὶ πωλέουσι. οἱ δὲ ἂν καὶ κάρτα βούλωνται χρηστῇ τῇ βύβλῳ χρᾶσθαι, ἐν κλιβάνῳ διαφανεῖ πνίξαντες, οὕτω τρώγουσι. Οἱ δὲ τινες αὐτῶν ζῶσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων μούνων τοὺς ἐπεὰν λάβωσι, καὶ ἐξέλῳσι τὴν κοιλίην, αἰαίνουσι πρὸς ἥλιον, καὶ ἔπειτα αὔους ἐόντας σιτέονται.

Οἱ δὲ ἰχθύες οἱ ἀγελαῖοι ἐν μὲν τοῖσι ποταμοῖσι οὐ 93 μάλα γίνονται· τρεφόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῇσι λίμνῃσι, τοιαῦδε ποιεῦσι. ἐπεὰν σφεας ἐσίῃ οἷστρος κυΐσκεσθαι, ἀγεληδὸν ἐκπλώουσι ἐς [τὴν] θάλασσαν. ἡγέονται δὲ οἱ ἔρσενες, ἀπορραίνοντες τοῦ θοροῦ· αἱ δὲ, ἐπόμεναι ἀνακάπτουσι, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κυΐσκονται. ἐπεὰν δὲ πλήρεις γένωνται ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, ἀναπλώουσι ὀπίσω ἐς ἥθεα τὰ ἐωυτῶν ἕκαστοι. ἡγέονται μέντοι γε οὐκέτι οἱ αὐτοὶ, ἀλλὰ τῶν θηλέων γίνεται ἡ ἡγεμονίη. ἡγεύμεναι δὲ ἀγεληδόν, ποιεῦσι οἷον περ ἐποίεν οἱ ἔρσενες· τῶν γὰρ ὧν ἀπορραίνουσι κατ' ὀλίγους τῶν κέγχρων, οἱ δὲ ἔρσενες καταπίνουσι ἐπόμενοι. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ κέγχροι οὗτοι ἰχθύες. ἐκ δὲ τῶν περιγινομένων καὶ μὴ καταπινομένων κέγχρων οἱ τρεφόμενοι ἰχθύες γίνονται. οἱ δ' ἂν αὐτῶν ἀλῶσι ἐκπλώνοντες ἐς θάλασσαν, φαίνονται τετριμμένοι τὰ ἐπαριστερὰ τῶν κεφαλῶν· οἱ δ' ἂν ὀπίσω ἀναπλώνοντες, τὰ ἐπιδεξιὰ τετρίφεται. πᾶσχουσι δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τὸδε. ἐχόμενοι τῆς γῆς ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ καταπλώουσι ἐς θάλασσαν· καὶ ἀναπλώνοντες ὀπίσω, τῆς αὐτῆς ἀντέχονται, ἐγχριπτόμενοι καὶ ψαίνοντες ὥς μάλιστα, ἵνα διὴ μὴ ἀμάρτοιεν τῆς ὁδοῦ διὰ τὸν ῥόον. Ἐπεὰν δὲ πληθύεσθαι ἄρχηται ὁ Νεῖλος, τὰ τε κοῖλα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ τέλματα τὰ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν

πρώτα ἄρχεται πίπλασθαι, διηθέοντος τοῦ ὕδατος ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ αὐτίκα τε πλέα γίνεται ταῦτα, καὶ παραχρῆμα ἰχθύων σμικρῶν πίπλονται πάντα. κόθεν δὲ οἰκὸς αὐτοὺς γίνεσθαι, ἐγὼ μοι δοκέω κατανοεῖν τοῦτο. τοῦ προτέρου ἔτεος ἔπεαν ἀπολίπη ὁ Νεῖλος, οἱ ἰχθύες ἐντεκόντες ὡὰ ἐς τὴν ἰλὺν, ἅμα τῷ ἐσχάτῳ ὕδατι ἀπαλλάσσονται· ἔπεαν δὲ περιελθόντος τοῦ χρόνου πάλιν ἐπέλθη τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐκ τῶν ὡῶν τούτων παρανίκα γίνονται οἱ ἰχθύες. καὶ περὶ μὲν τοὺς ἰχθύς οὕτω ἔχει.

- 94 Ἀλείφατι δὲ χρέωνται Αἰγυπτίων οἱ περὶ τὰ ἔλαια οἰκέοντες, ἀπὸ τῶν σιλλικυπρίων τοῦ καρποῦ, τὸ καλεῖσιν μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι κίκι· ποιεῦσι δὲ ὧδε. παρὰ τὰ χεῖλεα τῶν τε ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν λιμνέων σπείρουσι τὰ σιλλικύπρια ταῦτα, τὰ ἐν Ἑλλησι αὐτόματα ἄγρια φύεται. ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ σπειρόμενα, καρπὸν φέρει πολλὸν μὲν, δυσώδεα δέ. τοῦτον ἔπεαν συλλέξονται, οἱ μὲν κόψαντες ἀπιποῦσιν· οἱ δὲ καὶ φρύξαντες ἀπέψουσι, καὶ τὸ ἀπορρέον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ συγκομίζονται. ἔστι δὲ πῖον, καὶ οὐδὲν ἡσσον τοῦ ἐλαίου τῷ λύχῳ προσηνές· ὁδμὴν δὲ βαρέαν παρέ-
- 95 χεται. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς κώνωπας, ἀφθόλους ἔοντας, τάδε σφί ἐστι μεμηχανημένα. τοὺς μὲν τὰ ἄνω τῶν ἐλέων οἰκέοντας οἱ πύργοι ὠφελέουσι, ἐς οὓς ἀναβαίνοντες κοιμούνται· οἱ γὰρ κώνωπες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων οὐκ οἰοί τε εἰσι ὑψοῦ πέτεσθαι. τοῖσι δὲ περὶ τὰ ἔλαια οἰκέουσι τάδε ἀντὶ τῶν πύργων ἄλλα μεμηχάνηται. πᾶς ἀνὴρ αὐτῶν ἀμφίβληστρον ἔκτηται, τῷ τῆς μὲν ἡμέρης ἰχθύς ἀγρεύει, τὴν δὲ νύκτα τάδε αὐτῷ χρᾶται· ἐν τῇ ἀναπαύεται κοίτῃ, περὶ ταύτην ἴστησι τὸ ἀμφίβληστρον, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐνδὺς, ὑπ' αὐτῷ καθεύδει. οἱ δὲ κώνωπες, ἦν μὲν ἐν ἱματίῳ ἐνελιζόμενος εὐδῇ ἢ σινδόνι, διὰ τούτων δάκνουσι· διὰ δὲ τοῦ δικτύου οὐδὲ πειρῶνται ἀρχήν.

- 96 Τὰ δὲ δὴ πλοῖα σφι, τοῖσι φορτηγέουσι, ἔστι ἐκ τῆς ἀκάνθης ποιούμενα· τῆς ἢ μορφῇ μὲν ἐστὶ ὁμοιοτάτῃ τῷ Κυρηναίῳ λωτῷ, τὸ δὲ δάκρυον κόμμι ἐστί. ἐκ ταύτης ὦν τῆς ἀκάνθης κοψάμενοι ξύλα ὅσον τε διπήχεα, πλινθηδὸν συντιθείσι, ναυπηγεύμενοι τρόπον τοιόνδε. περὶ γόμφους πυκνοὺς καὶ μακροὺς περιείρουσι τὰ διπήχεα ξύλα· ἔπεαν δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ναυπηγήσονται, ζυγὰ

ἐπιπολῆς τείνουσι αὐτῶν· νομεῦσι δὲ οὐδὲν χρέωνται, ἔσωθεν δὲ τὰς ἀρμονίας ἐν ὧν ἐπάκτωσαν τῇ βύβλῳ· πηδάλιον δὲ ἐν ποιεῦνται, καὶ τοῦτο διὰ τῆς τρόπιος διαβύνεται· ἰσθῶ δὲ ἀκανθίνῳ χρέωνται, ἰσθίοισι δὲ βυβλίνοισι. ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα ἀνὰ μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν οὐ δύνανται πλέειν, ἣν μὴ λαμπρὸς ἄνεμος ἐπέχῃ, ἐκ γῆς δὲ παρέλκεται. κατὰ ῥόον δὲ κομίζεται ὧδε· ἔστι ἐκ μυρίκης πεποιημένη θύρη, κατερραμμένη ῥίπεϊ καλάμων, καὶ λίθος τετρημένος διτάλαντος μάλιστά κη σταθμὸν τούτων τὴν μὲν θύρην, δεδεμένην κάλῳ, ἔμπροσθε τοῦ πλοίου ἀπείει ἐπιφέρεσθαι, τὸν δὲ λίθον ἄλλῳ κάλῳ ὅπισθε. ἡ μὲν δὴ θύρη, τοῦ ῥόου ἐμπίπτοντος, χωρέει ταχέως, καὶ ἔλκει τὴν βάριν (τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ οὖνομά ἐστι τοῖσι πλοίοισι τούτοιςιν) ὁ δὲ λίθος ὅπισθε ἐπελκόμενος, καὶ ἑὸν ἐν βυσσῶ, κατιθύνει τὸν πλόον. ἔστι δὲ σφι τὰ πλοῖα ταῦτα πλήθει πολλὰ, καὶ ἄγει ἔνια πολλὰς χιλιάδας ταλάντων. Ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐπέλθῃ ὁ Νεῖλος τὴν χώραν, αἱ πόλεις μῦναι 97 φαίνονται ὑπερέχουσαι, μάλιστά κη ἐμφερέες τῇσι ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ πόντῳ νήσοισι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τῆς Αἰγύπτου πέλαγος γίνεται· αἱ δὲ πόλεις μῦναι ὑπερέχουσι. πορθμύονται ὧν, ἐπεὰν τοῦτο γένηται, οὐκέτι κατὰ τὰ ῥέεθρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἀλλὰ διὰ μέσου τοῦ πεδίου. ἐς μὲν γε Μέμφιν ἐκ Ναυκράτιος ἀναπλώοντι, παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς πυραμίδας γίνεται ὁ πλόος· ἔστι δὲ οὐκ οὗτος, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ ὄξυ τοῦ Δέλτα, καὶ παρὰ Κερκάσωρον πόλιν. ἐς δὲ Ναύκρατιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καὶ Κανώβου διὰ πεδίου πλέων, ἥξεις κατ' Ἀνθυλλάν τε πόλιν, καὶ τὴν Ἀρχάνδρου καλεωμένην. Τούτέων δὲ ἡ μὲν Ἀνθυλλα, εὐόσα λογίμη πόλις, 98 ἐς ὑποδήματα ἐξαίρετος δίδοται τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου τῇ γυναικί. (τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται, ἐξ ὅσου ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτος.) ἡ δὲ ἐτέρη πόλις δοκέει μοι τὸ οὖνομα ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαναοῦ γαμβροῦ, Ἀρχάνδρου τοῦ Φθίου, τοῦ Ἀχαιοῦ· καλέεται γὰρ δὴ Ἀρχάνδρου πόλις. εἴη δ' αὖ καὶ ἄλλος τις Ἀρχανδρος· οὐ μέντοι γε Αἰγύπτιον τὸ οὖνομα.

Μέχρι μὲν τούτου ὄψις τε ἐμὴ καὶ γνώμη καὶ ἱστορίη 99 ταῦτα λέγουσά ἐστι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούδε, Αἰγυπτίους ἔρχομαι λόγους ἑρέων, κατὰ τὰ ἥκουον. προσέσται δὲ αὐτοῖσί

τι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὄψιος. Τὸν Μῆνα, τὸν πρῶτον βασιλεύ-
 σαντα Αἰγύπτου, οἱ ἱρέες ἔλεγον, τοῦτο μὲν, ἀπογεφυρῶσαι
 καὶ τὴν Μέμφιν. τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν πάντα ῥέειν παρὰ τὸ
 ὄρος τὸ ψάμμινον πρὸς Λιβύης· τὸν δὲ Μῆνα ἄνωθεν,
 ὅσον τε ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἀπὸ Μέμφιος, τὸν πρὸς μεσαμ-
 βρίας ἀγκῶνα προσχώσαντα, τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον
 ἀποξηράναι, τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν ὀχετεῦσαι, τὸ μέσον τῶν
 οὐρέων ῥέειν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ Περσέων ὁ ἀγκὼν οὗτος
 τοῦ Νείλου, ὃς ἀπεργμένος ῥέει, ἐν φυλακῇσι μεγάλῃσι
 ἔχεται, φρασσόμενος ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσει ῥήξας
 ὑπερβῆναι ὁ ποταμὸς ταύτῃ, κίνδυνος πάσῃ Μέμφι
 κατακλυσθῆναί ἐστι. ὥς δὲ τῷ Μῆνι τούτῳ τῷ πρώτῳ
 γενομένῳ βασιλεῖ χέρσον γεγονέναι τὸ ἀπεργμένον, τοῦτο
 μὲν, ἐν αὐτῷ πόλιν κτίσαι ταύτην, ἣτις νῦν Μέμφις
 καλεῖται· (ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ἡ Μέμφις ἐν τῷ στενωπῷ τῆς
 Αἰγύπτου) ἔξωθεν δὲ αὐτῆς περιορύξαι λίμνην ἐκ τοῦ
 ποταμοῦ πρὸς βορέην τε καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρην· (τὸ γὰρ πρὸς
 τὴν ἡῶ αὐτὸς ὁ Νείλος ἀπέργει) τοῦτο δὲ, τοῦ Ἡφαίστου
 τὸ ἱρὸν ἰδρῦσασθαι ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐὼν μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιαπηγητό-
 100 ταν. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον, κατέλεγον οἱ ἱρέες ἐκ βύβλου
 ἄλλων βασιλέων τριηκοσίων τε καὶ τριήκοντα οὐνόματα.
 ἐν τοσαύτῃσι γενεῇσι ἀνθρώπων, ὀκτωκαίδεκα μὲν Αἰθίο-
 πες ἦσαν, μία δὲ γυνὴ ἐπιχωρή· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, ἄνδρες
 Αἰγύπτιοι. τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ οὐνομα ἦν ἣτις ἐβασίλευσε
 τόπερ τῇ Βαβυλωνίῃ, Νίτωκρις. τὴν ἔλεγον τιμωρέουσαν
 ἀδελφεῷ, τὸν Αἰγύπτιοι βασιλεύοντα σφέων ἀπέκτειναν·
 ἀποκτείναντες δὲ, οὕτω ἐκείνη ἀπέδοσαν τὴν βασιληίην·
 τούτῳ τιμωρέουσαν, πολλοὺς Αἰγυπτίων διαφθεῖραι δόλω.
 ποιησαμένην γάρ μιν οἶκημα περίμηκες ὑπόγαιον, καινοῦν
 τῷ λόγῳ, νόφ δὲ ἄλλα μηχανᾶσθαι. καλέσασαν δὲ μιν
 Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς μάλιστα μεταίτιους τοῦ φόνου ᾗδεε, πολ-
 101 λοὺς ἐστῖαν· δαινυμένοισι δὲ ἐπείναι τὸν ποταμὸν δι'
 αὐλῶνος κρυπτοῦ μεγάλου. ταύτης μὲν πέρι τοσαῦτα
 ἔλεγον· πλὴν ὅτι αὐτὴν μιν, ὥς τοῦτο ἐξέργαστο, ρίψαι
 ἐς οἶκημα σποδοῦ πλέον, ὅπως ἀτιμώρητος γένηται. Τῶν
 δὲ ἄλλων βασιλέων οὐ γὰρ ἔλεγον οὐδεμίαν ἔργων ἀπόδε-
 ξιν, κατ' οὐδὲν εἶναι λαμπρότητος, πλὴν ἐνὸς τοῦ ἐσχάτου
 αὐτῶν Μοίριος. τοῦτον δὲ ἀποδέξασθαι μνημόσυνα, τοῦ

Ἡφαίστου τὰ πρὸς βορρῇν ἄνεμον τετραμμένα προπύλαια· λίμνην τε ὀρύξαι, τῆς ἥ περίοδος ὕσων ἐστὶ σταδίων ὕστερον δηλώσω· πυραμίδας τε ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοδομήσαι, τῶν τοῦ μεγάρου περὶ ὁμοῦ αὐτῇ τῇ λίμνῃ ἐπιμνήσομαι. τοῦτον μὲν τοσαῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδένα οὐδέν.

Παραμειψάμενος ὦν τούτους, τοῦ ἐπὶ τούτοις γενο- 102
μένου βασιλέως, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Σέσωστρις, τούτου μνήμην ποιήσομαι. τῶν ἔλεγον οἱ ἱερεῖς πρῶτον μὲν πλοίοις μακροῖσι ὁρμηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου, τοὺς παρὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν κατοικημένους καταστρέφεσθαι ἐς ὃ πλεοντά μιν πρόσω, ἀπικέσθαι ἐς θάλασσαν οὐκέτι πλωτὴν ὑπὸ βραχέων. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὡς ὀπίσω ἀπίκητο ἐς Αἰγύπτου, κατὰ τῶν ἱρέων τὴν φάτιν, στρατιὴν πολλὴν λαβὼν ἤλανε διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου, πᾶν ἔθνος τὸ ἐμποδὼν καταστρεφόμενος. ὁτέοις μὲν νυν αὐτῶν ἀλκίμοις ἐνετύγχανε καὶ δεινῶς γλιχομένοις περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, τούτοις μὲν στήλας ἐνίστη ἐς τὰς χώρας, διὰ γραμμάτων λεγούσας τό τε ἑωυτοῦ οὐνομα καὶ τῆς πατρὸς, καὶ ὡς δυνάμι τῇ ἑωυτοῦ κατεστρέψατο σφεας. ὁτέων δὲ ἀμαχητὶ καὶ εὐπετέως παρέλαβε τὰς πόλεις, τούτοις δὲ ἐνέγραφε ἐν τῇσι στήλῃσι κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῖσι ἀνδρῆσι τῶν ἐθνέων γενομένοις· καὶ δὴ καὶ αἰδοῖα γυναικὸς προσενέγραφε, δῆλα βουλόμενος ποιεῖν ὡς εἶησαν ἀνάγκιδες. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιέων, διεξῆγε τὴν ἡπειρον· ἐς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας 103
ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην διαβάς, τοὺς τε Σκύθας κατεστρέψατο καὶ τοὺς Θρηάκας. Ἐς τούτους δὲ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ προσώ-
τατα ἀπικέσθαι ὁ Αἰγύπτιος στρατός· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ τούτων χώρῃ φαίνονται σταθεῖσαι αἱ στήλαι· τὸ δὲ προσωτέρω τούτων, οὐκέτι. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐπιστρέψας ὀπίσω ἦε· καὶ ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Φάσι ποταμῷ, οὐκ ἔχω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν, εἴτε αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις ἀποδασάμενος τῆς ἑωυτοῦ στρατῆς μόριον ὅσον δὴ, αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε τῆς χώρας οἰκήτορας· εἴτε τῶν τινὲς στρατιωτέων τῇ πλάνῃ αὐτοῦ ἀχθεσθέντες, περὶ Φάσιν ποταμὸν κατέμειναν. Φαίνονται μὲν γὰρ ὄντες οἱ 104
Κόλχοι Αἰγύπτιοι· νοήσας δὲ πρότερον αὐτὸς, ἢ ἀκούσας ἄλλων, λέγω. ὡς δὲ μοι ἐν φροντίδι ἐγένετο, εἰρόμην

ἀμφοτέρους· καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Κόλχοι ἐμεμνέατο τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἢ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῶν Κόλχων. νομίζειν δ' ἔφασαν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῆς Σεσώστριος στρατιῆς εἶναι τοὺς Κόλχους· αὐτὸς δὲ εἵκασα τῇδε, καὶ ὅτι μελάγχροές εἰσι καὶ οὐλότριχες· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐς οὐδὲν ἀνήκει· εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι· ἀλλὰ τοισίδε καὶ μᾶλλον, ὅτι μόνον πάντων ἀνθρώπων Κόλχοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Αἰθίοπες περιτάμνονται ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὰ αἰδοῖα. Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Σύριοι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογέουσι παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθηκέναι· Σύριοι δὲ οἱ περὶ Θερμώδοντα καὶ Παρθένιου ποταμὸν, καὶ Μάκρωνες οἱ τοῦτοισι ἀστυγείτονες ἔοντες, ἀπὸ Κόλχων φασὶ νεωστὶ μεμαθηκέναι. οὗτοι γάρ εἰσι οἱ περιταμνόμενοι ἀνθρώπων μόνον· καὶ οὗτοι Αἰγυπτίοισι φαίνονται ποιεῦντες κατὰ τὰ αὐτά. αὐτῶν δὲ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Αἰθιόπων οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὁκότεροι παρὰ τῶν ἐτέρων ἐξέμαθον· ἀρχαῖον γὰρ δὴ τι φαίνεται εἶναι. ὥς δ' ἐπιμισγόμενοι Αἰγύπτῳ ἐξέμαθον, μέγα μοι καὶ τότε τεκμηριον γίνεται· Φοινίκων ὁκόσοι τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπιμίσγονται, οὐκέτι Αἰγυπτίους μιμούνται κατὰ τὰ αἰδοῖα, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων οὐ περιτάμνουσι τὰ αἰδοῖα.

105 Φέρε νυν καὶ ἄλλο εἶπω περὶ τῶν Κόλχων, ὥς Αἰγυπτίοισι προσφερέες εἰσὶ. λῖνον μόνον οὗτοί τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐργάζονται κατὰ τὰ αὐτά· καὶ ἡ ζῶη πᾶσα καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα ἐμφορῆς ἐστὶ ἀλλήλοισι. λῖνον δὲ τὸ μὲν Κολχικὸν, ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σαρδονικὸν κέκληται· τὸ μὲντοι ἀπ'

106 Αἰγύπτου ἀπικνεύμενον, καλέεται Αἰγύπτιον. τὰς δὲ στήλας τὰς ἴστας κατὰ τὰς χώρας ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις, αἱ μὲν πλεῖνες οὐκέτι φαίνονται περιεοῦσαι· ἐν δὲ τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ αὐτὸς ὄρεον εἰούσας, καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ εἰρημένα ἐνεόντα, καὶ γυναικὸς αἰδοῖα. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίην δύο τύποι ἐν πέτρῃσι ἐγκεκολασμένοι· τοῦτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, τῇ τε ἐκ τῆς Ἐφεσίου ἐς Φώκαιαν ἔρχονται, καὶ τῇ ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σμύρνην. ἐκατέρωθι δὲ ἀνὴρ ἐγγέγλυπται, μέγαθος πέμπτης σπιθαμῆς, τῇ μὲν δεξιῇ χερὶ ἔχων αἰχμὴν, τῇ δὲ ἀριστερῇ τόξα, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σκευὴν ὡσαύτως· καὶ γὰρ Αἰγυπτίην καὶ Αἰθιοπίδα ἔχει· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὤμου ἐς τὸν ἕτερον ὤμον διὰ τῶν στηθέων γράμματα ἱρὰ Αἰγύπτια διήκει ἐγκεκολασμένα, λέγοντα

τάδε· ΕΓΩ ΤΗΝΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΧΩΡΗΝ ΩΜΟΙΣΙ ΤΟΙΣΙ
ΕΜΟΙΣΙ ΕΚΤΗΣΑΜΗΝ. ὅστις δὲ καὶ ὁκόθεν ἐστὶ,
ἐνθαῦτα μὲν οὐ δηλοῖ, ἐτέρωθι δὲ δεδήλωκε. τὰ δὲ καὶ
μετεξέτεροι τῶν θεησαμένων Μέμνονος εἰκόνα εἰκάζουσι
μιν εἶναι, πολλὴ τῆς ἀληθείης ἀπολελειμμένοι.

Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Σέσωστριν ἀναχωρόντα, 107
καὶ ἀνάγοντα πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν τὰς
χώρας κατεστρέψατο, ἔλεγον οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένετο
ἀνακομιζόμενος ἐν Δάφνησι τῇσι Πηλουσίησι, τὸν ἀδελ-
φεὸν ἐωυτοῦ τῷ ἐπέτρεψε Σέσωστρις τὴν Αἴγυπτον, τοῦ-
τον ἐπὶ ξείνια αὐτὸν καλέσαντα, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ τοὺς
παῖδας, περινηῆσαι ἔξωθεν τὴν οἰκίην ὕλην· περινηήσαντα
δὲ, ὑποπρῆσαι. τὸν δὲ ὡς μαθεῖν τοῦτο, αὐτίκα συμβου-
λεύεσθαι τῇ γυναικί· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτὸν
ἅμα ἄγεσθαι. τὴν δὲ οἱ συμβουλευσαι, τῶν παίδων
έόντων ἕξ, τοὺς δύο ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν ἐκτείναντα, γεφυρώσαι
τὸ καίόμενον, αὐτοὺς δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνων ἐπιβαίνοντας ἐκσώζε-
σθαι. ταῦτα ποιῆσαι τὸν Σέσωστριν· καὶ δύο μὲν τῶν
παίδων κατακαῆναι τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπο-
σωθῆναι ἅμα τῷ πατρί. Νοστήσας δὲ ὁ Σέσωστρις ἐς 108
τὴν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ τισάμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν, τῷ μὲν ὁμίλῳ
τὸν ἐπηγάγετο, τῶν τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, τούτῳ μὲν
τάδε ἐχρήσατο. τοὺς τέ οἱ λίθους, τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ
βασιλέως κομισθέντας ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἶδρυ, ἔοντας
μεγάθει περιμήκεας, οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐλκύσαντες· καὶ τὰς
διώρυχας τὰς νῦν ἐούσας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πάσας οὗτοι ἀναγ-
καζόμενοι ὥρυσσον· ἐποίουν τε οὐκ ἐκόντες Αἴγυπτον, τὸ
πρὶν ἐοῦσαν ἱππασίμην καὶ ἀμαξευομένην πᾶσαν, ἐνδεᾶ
τούτων. ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου Αἴγυπτος, ἐοῦσα
πεδιάς πᾶσα, ἀνιππος καὶ ἀναμάξευτος γέγονε· αἷται δὲ
τούτων αἱ διώρυχες γεγόνασι, ἐοῦσαι πολλαὶ, καὶ παν-
τοίους τρόπους ἔχουσαι. κατέταμνε δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα τὴν
χώρην ὁ βασιλεὺς· ὅσοι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ
ποταμῷ ἔκτηντο τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλ' ἀναμέσους, οὗτοι, ὅκως
τε ἀπίοι ὁ ποταμὸς, σπανίζοντες ὑδάτων, πλατυτέροις
ἐχρέοντο τοῖσι πόμασι, ἐκ φρεάτων χρεόμενοι. τούτων
μὲν δὲ εἵνεκα κατετμήθη ἡ Αἴγυπτος. Κατανεῖμαι δὲ τὴν 109
χώρην Αἰγυπτίοισι ἅπασιν τοῦτον ἔλεγον τὸν βασιλέα,

- κλήρον ἴσον ἑκάστῳ τετράγωνον δίδοντα· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὰς προσόδους ποιήσασθαι, ἐπιτάξαντα ἀποφορὴν ἐπιτελέειν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. εἰ δέ τις τοῦ κλήρου ὁ ποταμὸς τι παρέλοιτο, ἔλθων ἂν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐσήμαινε τὸ γεγενημένον· ὁ δὲ ἔπεμπε τοὺς ἐπισκεψομένους καὶ ἀναμετρήσοντας ὥσῳ ἐλάσσων ὁ χώρος γέγονε, ὅπως τοῦ λοιποῦ κατὰ λόγον τῆς τεταγμένης ἀποφορῆς τελέοι. δοκέει δέ μοι ἐνθεῦτεν γεωμετρίῃ εὐρεθεῖσα, ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπανελθεῖν. πόλον μὲν γάρ, καὶ γνώμονα, καὶ τὰ δυώδεκα μέρη τῆς ἡμέρης, παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων ἔμαθον οἱ Ἕλληνες. Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ οὗτος μῦθος Αἰγύπτιος Αἰθιοπίης ἤρξε. Μνημόσυνα δὲ ἐλίπετο πρὸ τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου, ἀνδριάντας λιθίνους· δύο μὲν, τριήκοντα πήχεων, ἑωυτὸν τε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα· τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ἔοντας τέσσερας, εἴκοσι πήχεων ἕκαστον. τῶν δὲ ὁ ἱεὺς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου χρόνῳ μετέπειτα πολλῶ Δαρεῖον τὸν Πέρσῃν οὐ περιείδε ἰστάντα ἔμπροσθεν ἀνδριάντα, φάς “οὐ οἱ πεποιῆσθαι ἔργα οἶά περ “Σεσώστρι τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ. Σέσωστριν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τε “καταστρέψασθαι ἔθνεα οὐκ ἐλάσσῳ ἐκείνου, καὶ δὴ καὶ “Σκύθας· Δαρεῖον δὲ οὐ δυνασθῆναι Σκύθας ἐλεῖν. οὐκὼν “δίκαιον εἶναι ἰστάναι ἔμπροσθε τῶν ἐκείνου ἀναθημάτων, “μὴ οὐκ ὑπερβαλλόμενον τοῖσι ἔργοισι.” Δαρεῖον μὲν νυν λέγουσι πρὸς ταῦτα συγγνώμην ποιήσασθαι.
- 111 Σεσώστριος δὲ τελευτήσαντος, ἐκδέξασθαι ἔλεγον τὴν βασιλῆην τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Φερῶν· τὸν ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν οὐδεμίαν στρατηγὴν, συνενειχθῆναι δὲ οἱ τυφλὸν γενέσθαι, διὰ τοιόνδε πρήγμα. τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελθόντος μέγιστα δὴ τότε ἐπ' ὀκτωκαίδεκα πήχεας, ὥς ὑπερέβαλε τὰς ἀρούρας, πνεύματος ἔμπροσθεν, κυματῆς ὁ ποταμὸς ἐγένετο· τὸν δὲ βασιλέα λέγουσι τοῦτον ἀτασθαλίῃ χρησάμενον, λαβόντα αἰχμὴν, βαλέειν ἐς μέσας τὰς δίνας τοῦ ποταμοῦ· μετὰ δὲ, αὐτίκα καμόντα αὐτὸν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, τυφλωθῆναι. δέκα μὲν δὴ ἔτεα εἶναι μιν τυφλόν· ἐνδεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἀπικέσθαι οἱ μαντήϊον ἐκ Βουτοῦ πόλιος, ὥς “ἐξήκει “τέ οἱ ὁ χρόνος τῆς ζημίας, καὶ ἀναβλέψει, γυναικὸς οὐρῶ “νιφάμενος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἥτις παρὰ τὸν ἑωυτῆς ἄνδρα “μῦνον πεφοίτηκε, ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν ἐοῦσα ἄπειρος” καὶ τὸν πρώτης τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὸς πειρᾶσθαι· μετὰ δὲ, ὥς

οὐκ ἀνέβλεπε, ἐπέξῃς πασέων πειρᾶσθαι. ἀναβλέψαντα δὲ, συναγαγεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπειρήθη, πλὴν ἢ τῆς τῷ οὐρῷ νιφάμενος ἀνέβλεψε, ἐς μίαν πόλιν, ἢ νῦν καλέεται Ἐρυθρὴ βῶλος· ἐς ταύτην συναλίσσαντα, ὑποπρῆσαι πάσας σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλι. τῆς δὲ νιφάμενος τῷ οὐρῷ ἀνέβλεψε, ταύτην δὲ εἶχε αὐτὸς γυναῖκα. Ἀναθήματα δὲ, ἀποφυγὼν τὴν πάθην τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ἄλλα τε ἀνὰ τὰ ἱρά πάντα τὰ λόγιμα ἀνέθηκε, καὶ τοῦ γε λόγον μάλιστα ἄξιόν ἐστι ἔχειν, ἐς τοῦ Ἥλιου τὸ ἱρὸν ἀξιόθητα ἀνέθηκε ἔργα, ὀβελούς δύο λιθίνους, ἐξ ἐνὸς ἐόντα ἐκάτερον λίθου, μῆκος μὲν ἐκάτερον πηχέων ἑκατὸν, εὖρος δὲ ὀκτῶ πηχέων.

Τούτου δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιληῖν ἔλεγον ἄνδρα 112
Μεμφίτην, τῷ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν οὖνομα Πρωτέα εἶναι· τοῦ νῦν τέμενός ἐστι ἐν Μέμφι κάρτα καλὸν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένον, τοῦ Ἡφαιστῆϊος πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον κείμενον. περιοικέουσι δὲ τὸ τέμενος τοῦτο Φοίνικες Τύριοι· καλέεται δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος ὁ συνάπας, Τυρίων στρατόπεδον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Πρωτέος ἱρὸν, τὸ καλέεται Ξείνης Ἀφροδίτης· συμβάλλομαι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν εἶναι Ἑλένης τῆς Τυνδάρεω, καὶ τὸν λόγον ἀκκοῶς ὡς διατιθῇ Ἑλένη παρὰ Πρωτεί, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι Ξείνης Ἀφροδίτης ἐπωνύμιόν ἐστι· ὅσα γὰρ ἄλλα Ἀφροδίτης ἱρά ἐστι, οὐδαμῶς Ξείνης ἐπικαλέεται. Ἐλεγον δέ 113
μοι οἱ ἱρέες ἱστοροέοντι τὰ περὶ Ἑλένην, γενέσθαι ὧδε Ἀλέξανδρον ἀρπάσαντα Ἑλένην ἐκ Σπάρτης, ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν ἐωυτοῦ. καὶ μιν, ὡς ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ, ἐξῶσται ἄνεμοι ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ (οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει τὰ πνεύματα) ἀπικνέεται ἐς Αἴγυπτον, καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἐς τὸ νῦν Κανωβικὸν καλούμενον στόμα τοῦ Νείλου, καὶ ἐς Ταριχεῖας. ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος, ὃ καὶ νῦν ἐστι, Ἡρακλῆος ἱρὸν· ἐς τὸ ἦν καταφυγὼν οἰκέτης ὅτεφ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβάληται στίγματα ἱρά, ἐωυτὸν διδοὺς τῷ θεῷ, οὐκ ἔξεστι τούτου ἄφασθαι. ὁ νόμος οὗτος διατελεῖ ἐὼν ὁμοῖος μέχρι ἐμεῦ τῷ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. τοῦ ὦν δὴ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπιστέαται θεράποντες, πυθόμενοι τὸν περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἔχοντα νόμον· ἰκέται δὲ ἰζόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ, κατηγορεῖον τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, βουλόμενοι βλάπτειν αὐτὸν, πάντα λόγον ἐξηγεύμενοι ὡς εἶχε περὶ τὴν Ἑλένην τε καὶ

- τὴν ἐς Μενέλεων ἀδικίην· κατηγόρεον δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τε τοὺς ἱρέας καὶ τὸν τοῦ στόματος τούτου φύλακον, τῷ
- 114 οὖνομα ἦν Θῶνις. Ἀκούσας δὲ τούτων ὁ Θῶνις, πέμπει τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Μέμφιν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἀγγελίην, λέγουσαν τάδε· “Ἦκει ξείνος, γένος μὲν Τευκρὸς, ἔργον δὲ “ἀνόσιον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐξεργασμένος· ξείνου γὰρ τοῦ “ἑωυτοῦ ἐξαπατήσας τὴν γυναῖκα, αὐτὴν τε ταύτην ἄγων “ἦκει, καὶ πολλὰ κάρτα χρήματα, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἐς γῆν τὴν “σὴν ἀπενειχθεῖς. κότερα δῆτα τούτον ἐῶμεν ἀσινέα “ἐκπλέειν, ἢ ἀφελώμεθα τὰ ἔχων ἦλθε;” Ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Πρωτεὺς λέγοντα τάδε· “Ἄνδρα τούτου, “ὅστις κοτὴ ἐστὶ ἀνόσια ἐργασμένος ξείνον τὸν ἑωυτοῦ, “συλλαβόντες, ἀπάγετε παρ’ ἐμὲ, ἵνα εἰδῶ ὅ τι κοτὴ καὶ
- 115 “λέξει.” Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Θῶνις, συλλαμβάνει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ κατίσχει· μετὰ δὲ, αὐτὸν τε τούτον ἀνήγαγε ἐς Μέμφιν, καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα· πρὸς δὲ, καὶ τοὺς ἰκέτας. ἀνακομισθέντων δὲ πάντων, εἰρώτα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὁ Πρωτεὺς, τίς εἴη, καὶ ὁκόθεν πλέοι. ὁ δὲ οἱ καὶ τὸ γένος κατέλεξε, καὶ τῆς πάτρης εἶπε τὸ οὖνομα· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν πλόον ἀπηγγέσατο ὁκόθεν πλέοι. μετὰ δὲ, ὁ Πρωτεὺς εἰρώτα αὐτὸν ὁκόθεν τὴν Ἑλένην λάβοι· πλανωμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐν τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ οὐ λέγοντος τὴν ἀληθειάν, ἤλεγχον οἱ γενόμενοι ἰκέται, ἐξηγούμενοι πάντα λόγον τοῦ ἀδικήματος. τέλος δὲ δὴ σφὶ λόγον τόνδε ἐκφαίνει ὁ Πρωτεὺς, λέγων ὅτι “Ἐγὼ εἰ μὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἡγεύμην μηδένα ξείνων “κτείνειν, ὅσοι ὑπ’ ἀνέμων ἤδη ἀπολαμφθέντες ἦλθον ἐς “χώρην τὴν ἐμὴν, ἐγὼ ἂν σε ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἑλλήνος ἐτίσάμην· “ὅς, ὦ κάκιστε ἀνδρῶν, ξεινίων τυχῶν, ἔργον ἀνοσιώτατον “ἐργάσαο. παρὰ τοῦ σεωυτοῦ ξείνου τὴν γυναῖκα ἦλθες· “καὶ μάλα ταῦτά τοι οὐκ ἤρκεσε, ἀλλὰ ἀναπτερώσας “αὐτὴν, οἷχαι ἔχων ἐκκλέψας. καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτά τοι “μοῦνα ἤρκεσε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ οἰκία τοῦ ξείνου κεραΐσας “ἦκεις. νῦν ὦν, ἐπειδὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἡγῆμαι μὴ ξεινο- “κτονέειν, γυναῖκα μὲν ταύτην καὶ τὰ χρήματα οὐ τοι “προήσω ἀπάγεσθαι, ἀλλὰ αὐτὰ ἐγὼ τῷ Ἑλληνι ξείνῳ “φυλάξω, ἐς ὃ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ἐκείνος ἀπαγαγέσθαι “ἐθέλῃ· αὐτὸν δὲ σὲ καὶ τοὺς σοὺς συμπλόους τριῶν

“ἡμερέων προαγορεύω ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς γῆς ἐς ἄλλην τινὰ
“μετορμίζεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἅτε πολεμίους περιέψεσθαι.”

Ἐλένης μὲν ταύτην ἀπιξιν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἔλεγον οἱ 116
ἱρέες γενέσθαι· δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Ὅμηρος τὸν λόγον
τοῦτον πυθέσθαι· ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἐς τὴν ἐποποιήν
εὐπρεπῆς ἦν τῷ ἐτέρῳ τῷ περ ἐχρήσατο, ἐς δὲ μετῆκε
αὐτὸν, δηλώσας ὡς καὶ τοῦτον ἐπίσταιτο τὸν λόγον. δῆλον
δέ· κατὰ γὰρ ἐποίησε ἐν Ἰλιάδι (καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἄλλη ἀνε-
πόδισε ἐωυτὸν) πλάνην τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὡς ἀπηνείχθη
ἄγων Ἐλένην, τῇ τε δὴ ἄλλῃ πλαζόμενος, καὶ ὡς ἐς
Σιδῶνα τῆς Φοινίκης ἀπίκητο. ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν
Διομήδεος ἀριστείῃ, λέγει δὲ τὰ ἔπεα οὕτω·

Ἐνθ’ ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμποίκιλοι, ἔργα γυναικῶν
Σιδονίων, τὰς αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής
ἤγαγε Σιδονίηθεν, ἐπιπλὼς εὐρέα πόντον,
τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν Ἐλένην περ ἀνήγαγεν εὐπατέρειαν.

Ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐῃ, ἐν τοῖσι δὲ τοῖσι ἔπεσι·

Τοῖα Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔχε φάρμακα μητιόεντα,
ἐσθλὰ, τὰ οἱ Πολύδαμνα πόρεν, Θῶνος παράκοιτις
Αἴγυπτίῃ· τῇ πλείστα φέρει ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα
φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά.

καὶ τὰδε ἕτερα πρὸς Τηλέμαχον Μενέλεως λέγει·

Αἰγύπτῳ μ’ ἔτι δεῦρο θεοὶ μεμαῶτα νέεσθαι
ἔσχον, ἐπεὶ οὐ σφὶν ἔρεξα τεληέσσας ἐκατόμβας.

Ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι ἔπεσι δηλοῖ, ὅτι ἠπίστατο τὴν ἐς
Αἴγυπτον Ἀλεξάνδρου πλάνην· ὁμουργεῖ γὰρ ἡ Συρίη
Αἰγύπτῳ· οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες, τῶν ἐστὶ ἡ Σιδὼν, ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ
οἰκεῖν οὐσι. Κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἔπεα, καὶ τότε τὸ χωρίον 117
οὐκ ἤκιστα, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα, δηλοῖ ὅτι οὐκ Ὅμηρου τὰ
Κύπρια ἔπεα ἐστὶ, ἀλλ’ ἄλλου τινός. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖσι
Κυπρίοισι εἴρηται, ὡς τριταῖος ἐκ Σπάρτης Ἀλέξανδρος
ἀπίκητο ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἄγων τὴν Ἐλένην, εὐαεῖ τε πνεύματι
χρησάμενος καὶ θαλάσση λείῃ· ἐν δὲ Ἰλιάδι λέγει ὡς
ἐπλάζετο ἄγων αὐτήν. Ὅμηρος μὲν νυν, καὶ τὰ Κύπρια
ἔπεα, χαίρετω.

Εἰρομένου δέ μεν τοὺς ἱρέας, εἰ μάταιον λόγον λέγουσι 118

- οἱ Ἕλληνες τὰ περὶ Ἴλιον γενέσθαι, ἣ οὐκ ἔφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα τάδε, ἱστορίῃσι φάμενοι εἰδέναι παρ' αὐτοῦ Μενέλεω. Ἐλθεῖν μὲν γάρ, μετὰ τὴν Ἑλένης ἄρπαγην, ἐς τὴν Τευκρίδα γῆν Ἑλλήνων στρατιὴν πολλήν, βοηθεύσαν Μενέλεω· ἐκβᾶσαν δὲ ἐς γῆν καὶ ἰδρυθεῖσαν τὴν στρατιήν, πέμπειν ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἀγγέλους· σὺν δέ σφι ἵεναι καὶ αὐτὸν Μενέλεω· τοὺς δ' ἐπεὶ τε ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπαιτέειν Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ οἱ οἶχετο κλέψας Ἀλέξανδρος, τῶν τε ἀδικημάτων δίκας αἰτέειν· τοὺς δὲ Τευκροὺς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον λέγειν τότε καὶ μετέπειτα, καὶ ὁμνύντας καὶ ἀνωμοτὶ, μὴ μὲν ἔχειν Ἑλένην, μηδὲ τὰ ἐπικαλούμενα χρήματα, ἀλλ' εἶναι αὐτὰ πάντα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· καὶ οὐκ ἂν δικαίως αὐτοὶ δίκας ὑπέχειν, ἀ Πρωτεύς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος βασιλεὺς ἔχει. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες καταγελάσθαι δοκέοντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν, οὕτω δὲ ἐπολιόρκειον, ἐς ὃ ἐξεῖλον. ἐλοῦσι δὲ τὸ τεῖχος ὥς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο ἡ Ἑλένη, ἀλλὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ προτέρῳ ἐπυνθάνοντο, οὕτω δὲ πιστεύσαντες τῷ λόγῳ τῷ πρώτῳ οἱ Ἕλληνες, αὐτὸν
- 119 Μενέλεω ἀποστέλλουσι παρὰ Πρωτέα. Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ Μενέλεως ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ ἀναπλώσας ἐς τὴν Μέμφιν, εἶπας τὴν ἀληθείην τῶν πρηγμάτων, καὶ ξεινίων ἡντησε μεγάλων, καὶ Ἑλένην ἀπαθεία κακῶν ἀπέλαβε· πρὸς δὲ, καὶ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ χρήματα πάντα. Τυχὼν μέντοι τούτων, ἐγένετο Μενέλεως ἀνὴρ ἄδικος ἐς Αἰγυπτίους. ἀποπλέειν γὰρ ὥρμημένον αὐτὸν ἴσχον ἄπλοιοι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολλὸν τοιοῦτο ἦν, ἐπιτεχνᾶται πρήγμα οὐκ ὅσιον· λαβὼν γὰρ δύο παιδία ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἔντομά σφεα ἐποίησε. μετὰ δὲ, ὥς ἐπάϊστος ἐγένετο τοῦτο ἐργασμένος, μισηθεὶς τε καὶ διωκόμενος, οἶχετο φεύγων τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐπὶ Λιβύης. τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὅκου ἐτράπετο, οὐκέτι εἶχον εἰπεῖν Αἰγύπτιοι· τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν ἱστορίῃσι ἔφασαν ἐπίστασθαι, τὰ δὲ, παρ' ἑωυτοῖσι γενόμενα, ἀτρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγειν.
- 120 Ταῦτα μὲν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἱρέες ἔλεγον· ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ Ἑλένης λεχθέντι καὶ αὐτὸς προστίθεμαι, τάδε ἐπιλεγόμενος· εἰ ἦν Ἑλένη ἐν Ἰλίῳ, ἀποδοθῆναι ἂν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἥτοι ἐκόντος γε ἢ ἄκοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου. οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὕτω γε φρενοβλαβῆς ἦν ὁ Πριάμος, οὐδὲ οἱ

ἄλλοι προσήκουτες αὐτῷ, ὥστε τοῖσι σφετέροισι σώμασι καὶ τοῖσι τέκνοισι καὶ τῇ πόλι κινδυνεύειν ἐβούλοντο, ὅπως Ἀλέξανδρος Ἑλένη συνοικήῃ. εἰ δέ τοι καὶ ἐν τοῖσι πρώτοισι χρόνοις ταῦτα ἐγίνωσκον· ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων Τρώων, ὁκοτε συμμίσγοιεν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἀπώλλυντο, αὐτοῦ δὲ Πριάμου οὐκ ἔστι ὅτε οὐ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἢ καὶ ἔτι πλείους τῶν παίδων, μάχης γινομένης, ἀπέθνησκον, εἰ χρή τι τοῖσι ἐποποιόισι χρεώμενον λέγειν· τούτων δὲ τοιούτων συμβαινόντων, ἐγὼ μὲν ἔλπομαι, εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς Πριάμος συνοίκεε Ἑλένη, ἀποδοῦναι ἂν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Ἀχαιοῖσι, μέλλοντά γε δὴ τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἡ βασιλητὴ ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον περιήϊε, ὥστε γέροντος Πριάμου ἑόντος, ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ πρήγματα εἶναι· ἀλλὰ Ἐκτωρ, καὶ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀνὴρ ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἑὼν, ἔμελλε αὐτὴν Πριάμου ἀποθανόντος παραλάμψεσθαι· τὸν οὐ προσήκε ἀδικέοντι τῷ ἀδελφεῷ ἐπιτρέπειν, καὶ ταῦτα μεγάλων κακῶν δι' αὐτὸν συμβαινόντων ἰδίῃ τε καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοις πᾶσι Τρωσί. Ἄλλ' οὐ γὰρ εἶχον Ἑλένην ἀποδοῦναι, οὐδὲ λέγουσι αὐτοῖσι τὴν ἀληθειὴν ἐπίστευον οἱ Ἕλληνες· ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ γνώμην ἀποφαίνομαι, τοῦ δαιμονίου παρασκευάζοντος, ὅπως πανωλεθρὴ ἀπολόμενοι, καταφανὲς τοῦτο τοῖσι ἀνθρώποις ποιήσωσι, ὥς τῶν μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων μεγάλα εἰσὶ καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, τῇ ἐμοὶ δοκέει, εἴρηται.

Πρωτεύς δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλητὴν Ῥαμψίνιτον 121 ἔλεγον· ὃς μνημόσυνα ἔλπιετο τὰ προπύλαια τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέρην τετραμμένα τοῦ Ἥφαιστείου. ἀντίους δὲ τῶν προπυλαίων ἔστησε ἀνδριάντας δύο, ἑόντας τὸ μέγαθος πέντε καὶ ἑξήκοντι πηχέων· τῶν Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν μὲν πρὸς βορέεω ἑσπεῶτα καλέουσι θέρος· τὸν δὲ πρὸς νότον, χειμῶνα. καὶ τὸν μὲν καλέουσι θέρος, τοῦτον μὲν προσκυνέουσιν τε, καὶ εὖ ποιέουσι· τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα καλεύμενον, τὰ ἔμπανιν τούτων ἔρδουσι. Πλούτων δὲ τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ γεινέσθαι ἀργύρου μέγαν, τὸν οὐδένα τῶν ὕστερον ἐπιτραφέντων βασιλέων δύνασθαι ὑπερβαλέσθαι, οὐδ' ἐγγυὲς ἔλθειν. βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν ἀσφαλεῇ τὰ χρήματα θησαυρίζειν, οἰκοδομέσθαι οἴκημα λίθινον· τοῦ

τῶν τοίχων ἓνα ἐς τὸ ἔξω μέρος τῆς οἰκίης ἔχειν. τὸν δὲ ἐργαζόμενον, ἐπιβουλευόντα, τάδε μηχανᾶσθαι· τῶν λίθων παρασκευάσασθαι ἓνα ἐξαιρετὸν εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ τοίχου ῥηϊδίως καὶ ὑπὸ δύο ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ενός. ὥς δὲ ἐπετελέσθη τὸ οἶκημα, τὸν μὲν βασιλέα θησαυρίσαι τὰ χρήματα ἐν αὐτῷ. χρόνου δὲ περιϋόντος, τὸν οἰκοδόμον, περὶ τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου ἔοντα, ἀνακαλέσασθαι τοὺς παῖδας· (εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῷ δύο·) τούτοισι δὲ ἀπηγγέσασθαι, ὡς ἐκείνων προορέων ὅπως βίον ἀφθονον ἔχωσι, τεχνάσαιτο οἰκοδομέων τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦ βασιλέως. σαφέως δὲ αὐτοῖσι πάντα ἐξηγησάμενον τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐξαίρεσιν τοῦ λίθου, δοῦναι τὰ μέτρα αὐτοῦ, λέγοντα ὡς ταῦτα διαφυλάσσοντες, ταμίαι τῶν βασιλέως χρημάτων ἔσονται. καὶ τὸν μὲν τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐς μακρὴν ἔργου ἔχεισθαι· ἐπελθόντας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλῆα νυκτὸς, καὶ τὸν λίθον ἐπὶ τῷ οἰκοδομήματι ἀνευρόντας, ῥηϊδίως μεταχειρίσασθαι, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων πολλὰ ἐξενεῖκασθαι. Ὡς δὲ τυχεῖν τὸν βασιλέα ἀνοίξαντα τὸ οἶκημα, θωυμάσαι, ἰδόντα τῶν χρημάτων καταδεῖν τὰ ἀγγῆα· οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ ὅν τινα ἐπαιτιάται, τῶν τε σημαντρῶν ἔοντων σώων, καὶ τοῦ οἰκήματος κεκλειμένου. ὥς δὲ αὐτῷ, καὶ δις καὶ τρίς ἀνοίξαντι, αἰεὶ ἐλάσσω φαίνεσθαι τὰ χρήματα, (τοὺς γὰρ κλέπτας οὐκ ἀνιέναι κεραϊζοντας,) ποιῆσαί μιν τάδε· πάγας προστάξαι ἐργάσασθαι, καὶ ταύτας περὶ τὰ ἀγγῆα, ἐν τοῖσι τὰ χρήματα ἐνῆν, στήσαι. τῶν δὲ φωρῶν, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ, ἐλθόντων, καὶ ἐνδύντος τοῦ ἐτέρου αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄγγος προσῆλθε, ἰθέως τῇ πάγῃ ἐνέχεσθαι· ὥς δὲ γνῶναι αὐτὸν ἐν οἴῳ κακῷ ἦν, ἰθέως καλέειν τὸν ἀδελφεόν, καὶ δηλοῦν αὐτῷ τὰ παρόντα, καὶ κελεύειν τὴν ταχίστην ἐσδύντα, ἀποτάμνειν αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν· ὅπως μὴ αὐτὸς ὀφθεῖς, καὶ γνωρισθεῖς ὃς εἴη, προσαπολέσει καὶ ἐκείνον. τῷ δὲ δόξαι εὖ λέγειν, καὶ ποιῆσαί μιν πεισθέντα ταῦτα· καὶ καταρμόσαντα τὸν λίθον, ἀπιέναι ἐπ' οἴκου, φέροντα τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ. Ὡς δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἐγένετο, ἐσελθόντα τὸν βασιλέα ἐς τὸ οἶκημα, ἐκπεπλήχθαι, ὀρέοντα τὸ σῶμα τοῦ φωρὸς ἐν τῇ πάγῃ ἄνευ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔόν· τὸ δὲ οἶκημα, ἀσυνές, καὶ οὔτε ἔσοδον οὔτε ἐκδυσιν οὐδεμίαι

ἔχον. ἀπορεύμενον δέ μιν, τάδε ποιῆσαι· τοῦ φωρὸς τὸν νέκυν κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κατακρεμάσαι· φυλάκους δὲ αὐτοῦ καταστήσαντα, ἐντείλασθαι σφι, τὸν ἂν ἴδωνται ἀποκλαύσαντα, ἢ κατοικτισάμενον, συλλαβόντας ἄγειν πρὸς ἑωυτόν. ἀνακρεμαμένου δὲ τοῦ νέκυος, τὴν μητέρα δεινῶς φέρειν· λόγους δὲ πρὸς τὸν περιέοντα παῖδα ποιούμενην, προστάσσειν αὐτῷ, ὅτεω τρόπῳ δύναται, μηχανᾶσθαι ὅπως τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ καταλύσας κομιεῖ· εἰ δὲ τούτων ἀμελήσει, διαπειλέειν αὐτήν, ὡς ἐλθοῦσα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, μνηύσει αὐτὸν ἔχοντα τὰ χρήματα. Ὡς δὲ χαλεπῶς ἐλαμβάνετο ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ περιέοντος παιδὸς, καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτήν λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε, ἐπιτεχνήσασθαι τοιαύδε μιν. ὄνους κατασκευασάμενον, καὶ ἄσκους πλήσαντα οἴνου, ἐπιθεῖναι ἐπὶ τῶν ὄνων, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλαύνειν αὐτούς· ὡς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς φυλάσσοντας ἦν τὸν κρεμάμενον νέκυν, ἐπισπᾶσαντα τῶν ἰσκιῶν δύο ἢ τρεῖς ποδεῶνας αὐτὸν λυεῖν ἀπαμμένους. ὡς δὲ ἔρρεε ὁ οἶνος, τὴν κεφαλὴν μιν κόπτεσθαι μεγάλα βοῶντα, ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντα πρὸς ὁκοῖον τῶν ὄνων πρῶτον τράπηται. τοὺς δὲ φυλάκους, ὡς ἰδεῖν πολλὸν ῥέοντα τὸν οἶνον, συντρέχειν εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἀγγήϊα ἔχοντας, καὶ τὸν ἐκκεχυμένον οἶνον συγκομίζειν ἐν κέρδει ποιευμένους· τὸν δὲ διαλοιδορέεσθαι πᾶσι, ὀργὴν προσποιούμενον. παραμυθευμένων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν φυλάκων, χρόνῳ πρηῦνεσθαι προσποιέεσθαι, καὶ ὑπείεσθαι τῆς ὀργῆς· τέλος δὲ, ἐξελάσαι αὐτὸν τοὺς ὄνους ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ κατασκευάζειν. ὡς δὲ λόγους τε πλείους ἐγγίνεσθαι, καὶ τινα καὶ σκῶφαί μιν καὶ εἰς γέλωτα προαγαγέσθαι, ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτοῖσι τῶν ἰσκιῶν ἕνα· τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ εἶχον, κατακλιθέντας πίνειν διανοέεσθαι, καὶ ἐκείνους παραλαμβάνειν, καὶ κελεύειν μετ' ἑωυτῶν μέιναντα συμπίνειν· τὸν δὲ πεισθῆναι τε δὴ, καὶ καταμείναι. ὡς δὲ μιν παρὰ τὴν πόσιν φιλοφρόνως ἡσπάζοντο, ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἄλλον τῶν ἰσκιῶν. δαψιλέει δὲ τῷ ποτῷ χρησαμένους τοὺς φυλάκους, ὑπερμεθυσθῆναι καὶ κρατηθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου, αὐτοῦ ἐνθάπερ ἔπινον κατακοιμηθῆναι. τὸν δὲ, ὡς πρόσω ἦν τῆς νυκτὸς, τό τε σῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ καταλύσαι, καὶ τῶν φυλάκων ἐπὶ λύμῃ πάντων ξυρῆσαι τὰς δεξιὰς παρηίδας· ἐπιθέντα δὲ τὸν νέκυν ἐπὶ τοὺς

δ' οὐκ, ἀπελαύνειν ἐπ' οἶκον, ἐπιτελέσαντα τῇ μητρὶ τὰ προσταχθέντα. Τὸν δὲ βασιλέα, ὡς αὐτῷ ἀπηγγέλθη τοῦ φῶρος ὁ νέκυσ ἐκκεκλεμμένος, δεινὰ ποίειν πάντως δὲ βουλόμενον εὐρεθῆναι ὅστις κοτὲ εἴη ὁ ταῦτα μηχανώμενος, ποιησαί μιν τάδε, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστά· τὴν δὲ θυγατέρα τὴν ἐωυτοῦ κατίσαι ἐπ' οἰκήματος, ἐντειλάμενον πάντας τε ὁμοίως προσδέκεσθαι, καὶ πρὶν συγγενέσθαι, ἀναγκάζειν λέγειν αὐτῇ ὅ τι δὴ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἔργασται αὐτῷ σοφώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον· ὃς δ' ἂν ἀπηγγήσῃται τὰ περὶ τὸν φῶρα γεγενημένα, τοῦτον συλλαμβάνειν, καὶ μὴ ἀπιέναι ἔξω. ὡς δὲ τὴν παῖδα ποίειν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς προσταχθέντα, τὸν φῶρα πυθόμενον τῶν εἵνεκα ταῦτα ἐπρήσσετο, βουλευθέντα πολυτροπίῃ τοῦ βασιλέος περιγενέσθαι, ποίειν τάδε. νεκροῦ προσφάτου ἀποταμόντα ἐν τῷ ὥμφῃ τὴν χεῖρα, ἵεναι αὐτὸν ἔχοντα αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ἱματίῳ· ἐσελθόντα δὲ ὡς τοῦ βασιλέος τὴν θυγατέρα, καὶ εἰρωτώμενον τάπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ἀπηγγέσθαι ὡς ἀνοσιώτατον μὲν εἴη ἐργασμένος, ὅτε τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ ἐν τῷ θησαυρῷ τοῦ βασιλέος ὑπὸ πάγης ἀλόντος ἀποτάμοι τὴν κεφαλὴν· σοφώτατον δὲ, ὅτι τοὺς φυλάκους καταμεθύσας, καταλύσειε τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ κρεμάμενον τὸν νέκυν. τὴν δὲ, ὡς ἤκουσε, ἅπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ. τὸν δὲ φῶρα ἐν τῷ σκότει προτεῖναι αὐτῇ τοῦ νεκροῦ τὴν χεῖρα· τὴν δὲ, ἐπιλαβομένην ἔχειν, νομίζουσιν αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου τῆς χειρὸς ἀντέχεσθαι· τὸν δὲ φῶρα προέμενον αὐτῇ, οἴχεσθαι διὰ θυρέων φεύγοντα. Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ἀνενεῖχθαι, ἐκπεπλήχθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πολυφροσύνῃ τε καὶ τόλμῃ τὰνθρώπου. τέλος δὲ, διαπέμποντα ἐς πάσας τὰς πόλεις, ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι ἄδειάν τε διδόντα, καὶ μεγάλα ὑποδεκόμενον ἐλθόντι ἐς ὕψιν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ. τὸν δὲ φῶρα, πιστεύσαντα, ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν· Ῥαμφίνιτον δὲ μεγάλως θωυμάσαι, καὶ οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην συνοικίσαι, ὡς πλείστα ἐπισταμένῳ ἀνθρώπων· Αἰγυπτίους μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων προκεκρίσθαι, ἐκείνους δὲ Αἰγυπτίους.

122 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγον τοῦτον τὸν βασιλῆα ζῶν καταβῆναι κάτω ἐς τὸν οἶον Ἕλληνες αἰδὼν νομίζουσι εἶναι, καὶ κείθι συγκυβεῖν τῇ Δήμητρὶ καὶ τὰ μὲν, νικᾶν αὐτὴν, τὰ δὲ, ἐσσοῦσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῆς· καὶ μιν πάλιν ἄνω

ἀπικέσθαι, δῶρον ἔχοντα παρ' αὐτῆς χειρόμακτρον χρύσειον. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ῥαμψινίτου καταβάσιος, ὡς πάλιν ἀπίκετο, ὁρτὴν δὴ ἀνάγειν Αἰγυπτίους ἔφασαν· τὴν καὶ ἐγὼ οἶδα ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐπιτελέοντας αὐτοὺς· οὐ μέντοι εἴτε δι' ἄλλο τι εἴτε διὰ ταῦτα ὁρτάζουσι ἔχω λέγειν. φᾶρος δὲ αὐτῆμερὸν ἐξυφάναντες οἱ ἱρέες, κατ' ὧν ἔδησαν ἐνὸς αὐτῶν μίτρῃ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς· ἀγαγόντες δέ μιν ἔχοντα τὸ φᾶρος ἐς ὁδὸν φέρουσιν ἐς ἱρὸν Δήμητρος, αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλάσσονται ὀπίσω· τὸν δὲ ἱερέα τοῦτον καταδεδεμένον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, λέγουσι ὑπὸ δύο λύκων ἄγεσθαι ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Δήμητρος, ἀπέχον τῆς πόλιος ἐέικοσι σταδίου· καὶ αὐτὶς ὀπίσω ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀπάγει μιν τοὺς λύκους ἐς τὸντὸ χωρίον. Τοῖσι μὲν νυν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων 123 λεγομένοισι χρᾶσθω ὅτε τὰ τοιαῦτα πιθανά ἐστι· ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὑπόκειται, ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὲρ ἐκάστων ἀκοῇ γράφω. ἀρχηγετεύειν δὲ τῶν κάτω Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι Δήμητρα καὶ Διόνυσον. Πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον Αἰγύπτιοί εἰσι οἱ εἰπόντες, ὡς ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ἀθάνατός ἐστι τοῦ σώματος δὲ καταφθίνοντος, ἐς ἄλλο ζῶον αἰεὶ γινόμενον ἐσδύεται· ἐπεὰν δὲ περιέλθῃ πάντα τὰ χερσαῖα καὶ τὰ θαλάσσια καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ, αὐτὶς ἐς ἀνθρώπου σῶμα γινόμενον ἐσδύνειν τὴν περιήλυσιν δὲ αὐτῇ γίνεσθαι ἐν τρισχιλίοις ἔτεσι. τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ εἰσὶ οἱ Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, οἱ μὲν, πρότερον, οἱ δὲ, ὕστερον, ὡς ἰδίῳ ἑωυτῶν ἔοντι· τῶν ἐγὼ εἰδὼς τὰ οὐνόματα, οὐ γράφω.

Μέχρι μὲν νυν Ῥαμψινίτου βασιλέως εἶναι ἐν Αἰ- 124 γύπτῳ πᾶσαν εὐνομίην ἔλεγον, καὶ εὐθηνέειν Αἰγυπτον μεγάλως. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον, βασιλεύσαντά σφεων Χέοπα, ἐς πᾶσαν κακότητα ἐλάσαι. κατακληῖσαντα γάρ μιν πάντα τὰ ἱρά, πρῶτα μὲν σφεας θυσιέων ἀπέρξαι· μετὰ δὲ, ἐργάζεσθαι ἑωυτῷ κελεύειν πάντας Αἰγυπτίους. τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ἀποδοδέχθαι, ἐκ τῶν λιθοτομιέων τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ οὐρεῖ, ἐκ τουτέων ἔλκειν λίθους μέχρι τοῦ Νείλου διαπεραιωθέντας δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν πλοίοις τοὺς λίθους ἑτέροις ἔταξε ἐκδέκεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὸ Λιβυκὸν καλέμενον ὄρος, πρὸς τοῦτο ἔλκειν. ἐργάζοντο δὲ κατὰ δέκα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων αἰεὶ τὴν τρίμηνον ἐκάστην. χρόνον

δὲ ἐγγενέσθαι τριβομένῳ τῷ λαῷ, δέκα μὲν ἕτεα τῆς ὁδοῦ
 κατ' ἣν εἶλκον τοὺς λίθους, τὴν ἔδειμαν' ἔργον ἐόν οὐ
 πολλῷ τέφ' ἔλασσαν τῆς πυραμίδος, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν. (τῆς
 γὰρ μῆκος μὲν εἰσι πέντε στάδιον· εὖρος δέ, δέκα ὀργυαί·
 ὕψος δέ, τῇ ὑψηλοτάτῃ ἐστὶ αὐτῇ ἐωυτῆς, ὁκτῷ ὀργυαί·
 λίθου τε ξεστοῦ καὶ ζῶον ἐγγεγλυμμένων) ταύτη τε δὴ
 τὰ δέκα ἕτεα γενέσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου, ἐπ' οὗ
 ἐστᾶσι αἱ πυραμίδες, τῶν ὑπὸ γῆν οἰκημάτων, τὰς ἐποιέ-
 ετο θήκας ἐωυτῷ ἐν νήσῳ, διώρυχα τοῦ Νείλου ἐσαγαγών.
 τῇ δὲ πυραμίδι αὐτῇ χρόνον γενέσθαι ἑξήκοσι ἕτεα ποιευ-
 μένη· τῆς ἐστὶ πανταχῇ μέτωπον ἕκαστον ὁκτῷ πλέθρα,
 εἰσὸς τετραγώνου, καὶ ὕψος ἴσον· λίθου δὲ ξεστοῦ τε
 καὶ ἀρμοσμένου τὰ μάλιστα· οὐδεὶς τῶν λίθων τριήκοντα
 125 ποδῶν ἐλάσσω. Ἐποιήθη δὲ ὧδε αὕτη ἡ πυραμὶς· ἀνα-
 βαθμῶν τρόπον, τὰς μετεξέτεροι κρόσσας, οἱ δὲ βωμίδας
 ὀνομάζουσι. τοιαύτην τὸ πρῶτον ἐπέε τε ἐποίησαν αὐ-
 τήν, ἥειρον τοὺς ἐπιλοιπούς λίθους μηχανῇσι ξύλων
 βραχέων πεποιημένῃσι· χαμάθεν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον
στοῖχον τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν αἰείροντες, ὅκως δὲ ἀνίοι ὁ λίθος
 ἐπ' αὐτὸν, εἰς ἐτέραν μηχανὴν ἐτίθετο, ἐστεῶσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ
 πρώτου στοίχου· ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον ἔλκετο
 στοῖχον ἐπ' ἄλλης μηχανῆς. ὅσοι γὰρ δὴ στοῖχοι ἦσαν
 τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν, τοσαῦται καὶ αἱ μηχαναὶ ἦσαν· εἴ τε
 καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μηχανὴν, εὐδσαν μίαν τε καὶ εὐβάστακτον,
 μετεφόρεον ἐπὶ στοῖχον ἕκαστον, ὅκως τὸν λίθον ἐξέλοιεν·
 λελέχθω γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα, κατὰπερ λέγεται. Ἐξε-
 ποιήθη δ' ὧν τὰ ἀνώτατα αὐτῆς πρῶτα· μετὰ δέ, τὰ
 ἐπόμενα τούτων ἐξεποίησαν· τελευταῖα δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπί-
 γαῖα καὶ τὰ κατωτάτω ἐξεποίησαν. Σεσήμενται δὲ διὰ
 γραμμάτων Αἰγυπτίων ἐν τῇ πυραμίδι, ὅσα ἕς τε συρ-
 μαῖν καὶ κρόμνα καὶ σκόροδα ἀναισιμῶθι τοῖσι ἐργα-
 ζομένοισι· καὶ ὥς ἐμὲ εὖ μεμνήσθαι τὰ ὁ ἐρμηνεύς μοι,
 ἐπιλεγόμενος τὰ γράμματα, ἔφη, ἑξακόσια καὶ χίλια
 τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελέσθαι. εἰ δ' ἐστὶ οὕτως ἔχοντα
 ταῦτα, κόσα εἰκὸς ἄλλα δεδαπανῆσθαι ἐστὶ ἕς τε σίδηρον
 τῷ ἐργάζοντο, καὶ σιτία, καὶ ἐσθῆτα τοῖσι ἐργαζομένοισι·
 ὁκοτε χρόνον μὲν οἰκοδόμεον τὰ ἔργα τὸν εἰρημένον· ἄλ-
 λον δέ, ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἐν τῷ τοὺς λίθους ἔταμνον, καὶ

ἄγον, καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν ὄρυγμα ἐργάζοντο, οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον. Ἐς τοῦτο δὲ ἐλθεῖν Χέοπα κακότητος, ὥστε 126 χρημάτων δέομενον, τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἑωυτοῦ κατίσαντα ἐπ' οἰκήματος, προστάξαι πρήσσεσθαι ἀργύριον, ὁκόσων δὴ τι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γε ἔλεγον· τὴν δέ, τὰ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ταχθέντα πρήσσεσθαι, ἰδίῃ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν διανοηθῆναι μνημῖον καταλιπέσθαι, καὶ τοῦ ἐσιόντος πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκάστου δέεσθαι, ὅπως ἂν αὐτῇ ἓνα λίθον ἐν τοῖσι ἔργοισι δωρέοιτο. ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν λίθων ἔφασαν τὴν πυραμίδα οἰκοδομηθῆναι, τὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τριῶν ἐστῆκυαν, ἔμπροσθε τῆς μεγάλης πυραμίδος· τῆς ἐστὶ τὸ 127 κῶλον ἐκάστων ὅλου καὶ ἡμίσεος πλέθρου. Βασιλεῦσαι δὲ τὸν Χέοπα τοῦτον Αἰγύπτιοι ἔλεγον πεντήκοντα ἔτα· τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτου, ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλῆϊν τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Χεφρήνα. καὶ τοῦτον δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ διαχρᾶσθαι τῷ ἐτέρῳ, τὰ τε ἄλλα, καὶ πυραμίδα ποιῆσαι, ἐς μὲν τὰ ἐκείνου μέτρα οὐκ ἀνήκουσαν· ταῦτα γὰρ ὦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐμετρήσαμεν· οὔτε γὰρ ὑπῆστι οἰκήματα ὑπὸ γῆν, οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυξ ἥκει ἐς αὐτὴν, ὥσπερ ἐς τὴν ἐτέρην ρέουσα· διὰ οἰκοδομημένον δὲ αὐλῶνος ἔσω νῆσον περιρρέει, ἐν τῇ αὐτὸν λέγουσι κείσθαι Χέοπα. ὑποδείμας δὲ τὸν πρῶτον δόμον λίθον Αἰθιοπικῶν ποικίλου, τεσσαράκοντα πόδας ὑποβὰς τῆς ἐτέρης τῶντ' ὀλίγους, ἐχομένην τῆς μεγάλης οἰκοδόμησε. ἐστᾶσι δὲ ἐπὶ λόφου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμφοτέραι, μάλιστα ἐς ἑκατὸν πόδας ὑψηλοῦ. βασιλεῦσαι δὲ ἔλεγον Χεφρήνα ἕξ καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτα. Ταῦτα ἕξ τε καὶ ἑκατὸν λογίζονται ἔτα, ἐν τοῖσι Αἰγυ- 128 πτίοισί τε πᾶσαν εἶναι κακότητα, καὶ τὰ ἱρὰ χρόνου τοσοῦτον κατακληῖσθέντα οὐκ ἀνοιχθῆναι. τούτους ὑπὸ μίσεος οὐ κάρτα θέλουσι Αἰγύπτιοι ὀνομάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας καλέουσι ποιμένος Φιλιτίωνος, ὃς τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔνεμε κτήνεα κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον, βασιλεῦσαι Αἰγυπτίου Μυκερίνου 129 ἔλεγον, Χέοπος παῖδα· τῷ τὰ μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς ἔργα ἀπαδεῖν· τὸν δὲ τὰ τε ἱρὰ ἀνοῖξαι, καὶ τὸν λεῶν τετρυμένον ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀνεῖναι πρὸς ἔργα τε καὶ θυσίας· δίκας δὲ σφί πάντων βασιλέων δικαιοτάτας κρίνειν. κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν νυν τὸ ἔργον, ἀπάντων ὅσοι ἤδη βασιλέες

- ἐγένοντο Αἰγυπτίων, αἰνέουσι μάλιστα τοῦτον· τὰ τε ἄλλα γάρ μιν κρίνειν εὖ, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ ἐπιμεμφομένῳ ἐκ τῆς δίκης παρ' ἑωυτοῦ διδόντα ἄλλα, ἀποπιμπλάναι αὐτοῦ τὸν θυμόν. Ἔονται δὲ ἡπίῳ τῷ Μυκερίνῳ κατὰ τοὺς πολιήτας, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεύοντι πρῶτον κακῶν ἄρξαι τὴν θυγατέρα ἀποθανοῦσαν αὐτοῦ, τὴν μουνόν οἱ εἶναι ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι τέκνον. τὸν δὲ, ὑπεραλγίσαντά τε τῷ περιεπεπτώκεε πρήγματι, καὶ βουλόμενον περισσώτερόν τι τῶν ἄλλων θάψαι τὴν θυγατέρα, ποιήσασθαι βοῦν ξύλινην κοίλην. καὶ ἔπειτα καταχρυσώσαντά μιν ταύτην, ἔσω ἐν αὐτῇ θάψαι ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν
- 130 θυγατέρα. Αὕτη ὣν ἡ βοῦς γῇ οὐκ ἐκρύφθη, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν φανερή· ἐν Σαΐ μὲν πόλι ἐοῦσα, κειμένη δὲ ἐν τοῖσι βασιληϊοῖσι, ἐν οἰκῇματι ἡσκημένῳ· θυμῆματα δὲ παρ' αὐτῇ παντοῖα καταγίζουσι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην· νύκτα δὲ ἐκάστην πάννυχος λύχνος παρακαίεται. (ἀγχοῦ δὲ τῆς βοδὸς ταύτης ἐν ἄλλῳ οἰκῇματι εἰκόνες τῶν παλλακέων τῶν Μυκερίνου ἐστᾶσι, ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ ἐν Σαΐ πόλι ἱρέες· ἐστᾶσι μὲν γὰρ ξύλινοι κολοσσοί, ἐοῦσαι ἀριθμὸν ὡς
- 131 εἰκοσι μάλιστα κη, γυμναὶ ἐργασμένοι· αἱ τινες μέντοι εἰσὶ, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, πλὴν ἢ τὰ λεγόμενα. Οἱ δὲ τινες λέγουσι περὶ τῆς βοδὸς ταύτης καὶ τῶν κολοσσῶν τόνδε τὸν λόγον· ὡς Μυκερίνος ἐράσθη τῆς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατρὸς, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐμίγη οἱ ἀκούσῃ. μετὰ δὲ, λέγουσι ὡς ἡ παῖς ἀπήγξατο ὑπὸ ἄχεος· ὁ δὲ μιν ἔθαψε ἐν τῇ βοὶ ταύτῃ· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτῆς τῶν ἀμφιπόλων τῶν προδουσέων τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ πατρὶ ἀπέταμε τὰς χεῖρας· καὶ νῦν τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτέων εἶναι πεπονθυίας τάπερ αἱ ζῶαι ἔπαθον. ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι φλυηρέοντες, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, τὰ τε ἄλλα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς χεῖρας τῶν κολοσσῶν· ταῦτα γὰρ ὦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὠρέομεν, ὅτι ὑπὸ χρόνου τὰς χεῖρας ἀποβεβλήκασι, αἱ ἐν ποσὶ αὐτέων
- 132 φαίνονται ἐοῦσαι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ.) Ἡ δὲ βοῦς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατακέκρυπται φοινικέῳ εἵματι· τὸν αὐχένα δὲ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν φαίνει κεχρυσωμένα παχεί κάρτα χρυσῷ· μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν κερέων, ὁ τοῦ ἡλίου κύκλος μεμιμημένος ἔπεστι χρύσεος. ἔστι δὲ ἡ βοῦς οὐκ ὀρθή, ἀλλ' ἐν γούνασι κειμένη· μέγαθος δὲ, ὅσηπερ μεγάλη βοῦς ζῶῃ.

ἐκφέρεται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος ἀνὰ πάντα τὰ ἔτεα. ἐπεὰν τύπτωνται οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν οὐκ ὀνομαζόμενον θεὸν ὑπ' ἐμεῦ ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι, τότε ὦν καὶ τὴν βοὴν ἐκφέρουσι ἐς τὸ φῶς. φασὶ γὰρ δὴ αὐτὴν δεηθῆναι τοῦ πατρὸς Μυκερίνου ἀποθνήσκουσας, ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἅπαξ μιν τὸν ἥλιον κατιδεῖν.

Μετὰ δὲ τῆς θυγατρὸς τὸ πάθος, δεύτερα τούτῳ τῷ 133 βασιλεῖ τάδε γενέσθαι. ἐλθεῖν οἱ μαντήιον ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος, ὡς “μέλλοι ἐξ ἔτεα μούνον βιούς τῷ ἐβδόμῳ “τελευτήσειν.” τὸν δέ, δεινὸν ποιησάμενον, πέμψαι ἐς τὸ μαντήιον τῷ θεῷ ὀνειδισμα, ἀντιμεμφόμενον ὅτι “ὁ “μὲν αὐτοῦ πατήρ καὶ πάτριος, ἀποκληΐσαντες τὰ ἱρά, “καὶ θεῶν οὐ μεμνημένοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους “φθειρόντες, ἐβίωσαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν· αὐτὸς δ' εὐ- “σεβῆς ἔων, μέλλοι ταχέως οὕτω τελευτήσειν.” Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ χρηστηρίου αὐτῷ δεύτερα ἐλθεῖν λέγοντα “τούτων “εἵνεκα καὶ συνταχύνειν αὐτῷ τὸν βίον, οὐ γὰρ ποιῆσαι “μιν τὸ χρεὼν ἦν ποιεῖν· δεῖν γὰρ Αἴγυπτον κακοῦσθαι “ἐπ' ἔτεα πεντήκοντά τε καὶ ἑκατόν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν δύο “τοὺς πρὸ ἐκείνου γενομένους βασιλέας μαθεῖν τοῦτο, “κεῖνον δὲ οὐ.” Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα τὸν Μυκερίνον, ὡς κατακεκριμένων ἤδη οἱ τούτων, λύχνα ποιησάμενον πολλὰ, ὅπως γίνοιτο νύξ, ἀνάψαντα αὐτὰ, πίνειν τε καὶ εὐπαθεῖν, οὔτε ἡμέρης οὔτε νυκτὸς ἀνιέντα, ἕς τε τὰ ἔλεα καὶ τὰ ἄλσεα πλανώμενον, καὶ ἵνα πυνθάνοιτο εἶναι (γῆς) ἐνηβητήρια ἐπιτηδεώτατα. ταῦτα δὲ ἐμψχανάτο, θέλων τὸ μαντήιον ψευδόμενον ἀποδέξαι, ἵνα οἱ δυνώδεκα ἔτεα ἀντὶ ἐξ ἐτέων γένηται, αἱ νύκτες ἡμέραι ποιεύμεναι. (Πυραμίδα δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἀπελίπετο πολλὸν ἐλάσσω 134 τοῦ πατρὸς, εἰκόσι ποδῶν καταδέουσας κῶλον ἑαστον τριῶν πλέθρων, ἐούσης τετραγώνου, λίθου δὲ ἐς τὸ ἥμισυ Αἰθιοπικοῦ· τὴν δὲ μετεξέτεροί φασι Ἑλλήνων Ῥοδώπιος ἐταίρις γυναικὸς εἶναι, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες. οὐδὲ ὦν οὐδὲ εἰδότες μοι φαίνονται λέγειν οὗτοι ἥτις ἦν ἡ Ῥοδώπις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν οἱ πυραμίδα ἀνέθεσαν ποιήσασθαι τοιαύτην, ἐς τὴν ταλάντων χιλιάδες ἀναρίθμητοι, ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, ἀναισίμωνται· πρὸς δὲ, ὅτι κατὰ Ἀμασιν βασιλεύοντα ἦν ἀκμάζουσα Ῥοδώπις, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τοῦτον. ἔτεσι γὰρ

- κάρτα πολλοῖσι ὕστερον τούτων τῶν βασιλέων τῶν τὰς
 πυραμίδας ταύτας ἦν λιπομένων Ῥοδῶπις· γενεὴν μὲν,
 ἀπὸ Θρηῆκος· δούλη δὲ ἦν Ἰάδμονος τοῦ Ἡφαιστοπόλιος,
 ἀνδρὸς Σαμίου, σύνδουλος δὲ Αἰσώπου τοῦ λογοποιοῦ.
 καὶ γὰρ οὗτος Ἰάδμονος ἐγένετο, ὡς διέδεξε τῇδε οὐκ
 ἥκιστα· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ πολλάκις κηρυσσόντων Δελφῶν ἐκ
 θεοπροπίου “ὃς βούλοιτο ποινὴν τῆς Αἰσώπου ψυχῆς
 ἀνελέσθαι,” ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐφάνη, Ἰάδμονος δὲ παιδὸς
 παῖς, ἄλλος Ἰάδμων, ἀνείλετο· οὕτω καὶ Αἰσώπος Ἰά-
 135 δμονος ἐγένετο. Ῥοδῶπις δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκητο, Ξάν-
 θεω τοῦ Σαμίου κομίσαντός [μιν] ἀπικομένη δὲ κατ’
 ἐργασίην, ἐλύθη χρημάτων μεγάλων ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυτι-
 ληναίου Χαράξου, τοῦ Σκαμανδρονύμου παιδὸς, ἀδελφεοῦ
 δὲ Σαπφoῦς τῆς μουσοποιοῦ. οὕτω δὴ ἡ Ῥοδῶπις ἐλευ-
 θερώθη, καὶ κατέμεινέ τε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ κάρτα ἐπα-
 φρόδιτος γενομένη, μεγάλα ἐκτήσατο χρήματα, ὡς ἂν
 εἶναι Ῥοδῶπιν, ἀτὰρ οὐκ ὥς γε ἐς πυραμίδα τοιαύτην
 ἐξικέσθαι. τῆς γὰρ τὴν δεκάτην τῶν χρημάτων ιδέσθαι
 ἐστὶ ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸδε παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ, οὐδὲν δεῖ
 μεγάλα οἱ χρήματα ἀναθεῖναι. ἐπεθύμησε γὰρ Ῥοδῶπις
 μνημῆιον ἐωυτῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταλιπέσθαι, ποίημα
 ποιησαμένη τοῦτο, τὸ μὴ τυγχάνει ἄλλῳ ἐξευρημένον καὶ
 ἀνακείμενον ἐν ἱρῷ, τοῦτο ἀναθεῖναι ἐς Δελφοὺς μνημό-
 συνον ἐωυτῆς. τῆς ὦν δεκάτης τῶν χρημάτων ποιη-
 σαμένη ὀβελοὺς βουπόρους πολλοὺς σιδηρέους, ὅσον ἐνε-
 χῶρεε ἡ δεκάτη οἱ, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφούς· οἱ καὶ νῦν ἔτι
 συννεύεται, ὅπισθε μὲν τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸν Χίῳ ἀνέθεσαν,
 ἀντίον δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νηοῦ. Φιλέουσι δὲ κως ἐν τῇ Ναυ-
 κράτι ἐπαφρόδιτοι γίνεσθαι αἱ ἑταῖραι. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ
 αὕτη, τῆς περὶ λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος, οὕτω δὴ τι κλεινὴ
 ἐγένετο, ὡς καὶ πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες Ῥοδῶπιος τὸ οὐνομα
 ἐξέμαθον· τοῦτο δὲ, ὕστερον ταύτης, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀρχι-
 δίκη, αἰδιμὸς ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐγένετο, ἥσσον δὲ τῆς
 ἐτέρης περιλεσχήμεντος. Χάραξος δὲ ὡς λυσάμενος Ῥο-
 δῶπιν ἀπενόστησε ἐς Μυτιλήνην, ἐν μέλει Σαπφῷ πολλὰ
 κατεκερτόμησέ μιν. Ῥοδῶπιος μὲν νυν περὶ πέπαυμαι.
- 136 Μετὰ δὲ Μυκερῖνον γενέσθαι Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλέα ἔλε-
 γον οἱ ἱεεὶς Ἀσυχιν, τὸν τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα

ποιῆσαι τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ προπύλαια, ἔοντα πολλῶ τε κάλλιστα καὶ πολλῶ μέγιστα. ἔχει μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ πάντα προπύλαια τύπους τε ἐγγεγλυμμένους, καὶ ἄλλην ὄψιν οἰκοδομημάτων μυρίην· ἐκεῖνα δὲ, καὶ μακρῶ μάλιστα. Ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος, ἔλεγον, ἀμιξίης εἰούσης πολλῆς χρημάτων, γενέσθαι νόμον Αἰγυπτίοισι, ἀποδεικνύντα ἐνέχυρον τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν νέκυν, οὗτω λαμβάνειν τὸ χρέος· προστεθῆναι δὲ ἔτι τούτῳ τῷ νόμῳ τόνδε, τὸν διδόντα τὸ χρέος καὶ ἀπάσης κρατέειν τῆς τοῦ λαμβάνοντος θήκης· τῷ δὲ ὑποτιθέντι τούτο τὸ ἐνέχυρον, τήνδε ἐπεῖναι ζημίην, μὴ βουλομένῳ ἀποδοῦναι τὸ χρέος, μήτ' αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ τελευτήσαντι εἶναι ταφῆς κυρῆσαι μήτ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ πατρὶ ὀψὲς μήτ' ἐν ἄλλῳ μηδενί, μήτε ἄλλον μηδένα τῶν ἐωυτοῦ ἀπογενόμενον θάψαι. Υπερβαλέσθαι δὲ βουλόμενον τούτον τὸν βασιλέα τοὺς πρότερον ἐωυτοῦ βασιλέας γενομένους Αἰγύπτου, μνημόσυνον πυραμίδα λιπέσθαι, ἐκ πλύνθων ποιήσαντα· ἐν τῇ γράμματα ἐν λίθῳ ἐγκεκολαμμένα τάδε λέγοντά ἐστι· ΜΗ ΜΕ ΚΑΤΟΝΟΣΘΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΣ ΛΙΘΙΝΑΣ ΠΥΡΑΜΙΔΑΣ. ΠΡΟΕΧΩ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΤΕΩΝ ΤΟΣΟΤΤΟΝ, ὍΣΟΝ Ὁ ΖΕΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΛΛΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ. ΚΟΝΤΩ ΓΑΡ ὙΠΟΤΤΗΤΟΝΤΕΣ ΕΣ ΛΙΜΝΗΝ, Ὅ ΤΙ ΠΡΟΣΧΟΙΤΟ ΤΟΤ ΠΗΛΟΤ ΤΩ ΚΟΝΤΩ ΤΟΤΤΟ ΣΤΛΑΔΕΓΟΝΤΕΣ, ΠΛΙΝΘΟΤΣ ΕΙΡΤΣΑΝ, ΚΑΙ ΜΕ ΤΡΟΠΩ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΩ ΕΞΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΝ. τούτον μὲν τσαῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι.

Μετὰ δὲ τούτον, βασιλεύσαι ἄνδρα τυφλὸν ἐξ Ἀνύ- 137
σιος πόλιος, τῷ οὐνόμα Ἀνυσιν εἶναι. ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ἐλάσαι ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον χειρὶ πολλῇ Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ Σαβακῶν τὸν Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλέα. τὸν μὲν δὴ τυφλὸν τούτον οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα ἐς τὰ ἔλεα· τὸν δὲ Αἰθιοπα βασιλεύειν Αἰγύπτου ἐπ' ἕτα πεντήκοντα· ἐν τοῖσι αὐτὸν τάδε ἀποδέξασθαι. ὅπως τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ἀμάρτοι τι, κτείνειν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδένα ἐθέλειν· τὸν δὲ κατὰ μέγαθος τοῦ ἀδικήματος ἐκάστῳ δικάζειν, ἐπιτάσσοντα χῶματα χοῦν πρὸς τῇ ἐωυτῶν πόλι, ὅθεν ἕκαστος ἦν τῶν ἀδικούντων. καὶ οὕτω ἔτι αἱ πόλεις ἐγένοντο ὑψηλότεραι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον, ἐχώσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν τὰς διώρυχας

- ὀρυζάντων, ἐπὶ Σεσώστριος βασιλέως· δεύτερα δέ, ἐπὶ
 τοῦ Αἰθίοπος καὶ κάρτα ὑψηλαὶ ἐγένοντο. Ὑψηλέων δέ
 καὶ ἐτέρων τασσομένων ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ· πολίων, ὡς ἐμοὶ
 δοκεῖ, μάλιστα μὲν Βουβάστι πόλι ἐξεχώσθη, ἐν τῇ καὶ
 ἱρὸν ἐστὶ Βουβάστιος ἀξιαπηγητότατον. μέζω μὲν γὰρ
 ἄλλα, καὶ πολυδαπανώτερά ἐστι ἱρά· ἡδονῇ δὲ ἰδέσθαι
 οὐδὲν τούτου μᾶλλον. ἡ δὲ Βούβαστις, κατὰ Ἑλλάδα
 138 γλῶσσαν, ἐστὶ Ἄρτεμις. Τὸ δὲ ἱρὸν αὐτῆς ὧδε ἔχει.
 πλὴν τῆς ἐσόδου, τὸ ἄλλο νησός ἐστι· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ Νείλου
 διώρυχες ἐσέχουσι, οὐ συμμίσγουσιν ἀλλήλησι, ἀλλ'
 ἄχρι τῆς ἐσόδου τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐκατέρῃ ἐσέχει· ἡ μὲν, τῇ περιρ-
 ρέουσα, ἡ δὲ, τῇ· εὐρος εὐῶσα ἐκατέρῃ ἐκατὸν ποδῶν,
 δένδροισι κατὰσκιος. τὰ δὲ προπύλαια, ὕψος μὲν δέκα
 ὀργυιῶν ἐστὶ, τύποισι δὲ ἐξαπήχεσι ἐσκενδάταται ἀξίῳσι
 λόγου. ἐὼν δ' ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει τὸ ἱρὸν, κατοράται πάν-
 τοθεν περιούντι· ἅτε γὰρ τῆς πόλιος μὲν ἐκκεχωσμένης
 ὕψου, τοῦ δ' ἱροῦ οὐ κεκινημένου, ὡς ἀρχῇθεν ἐποιήθη,
 ἔσοπτόν ἐστι. περιθέει δ' αὐτὸ αἵμασι καὶ ἐγγεγλυμμένη
 τύποισι. ἔστι δὲ ἔσωθεν ἄλσος δεινδρέων μεγίστων, πε-
 φυτευμένον περὶ νηὸν μέγαν, ἐν τῷ δὴ τῷγαλμα ἐνι.
 εὐρος δὲ καὶ μήκος τοῦ ἱροῦ πάντῃ σταδίου ἐστὶ. κατὰ
 μὲν δὴ τὴν ἐσοδὸν, ἐστρωμένη ἐστὶ ὁδὸς λίθου ἐπὶ στα-
 δίους τρεῖς μάλιστα κη, διὰ τῆς ἀγορῆς φέρουσα ἐς τὸ
 πρὸς ἡῶ· εὐρος δὲ, ὡς τεσσέρων πλέθρων· τῇ δὲ καὶ τῇ
 τῆς ὁδοῦ δένδρεα οὐρανομήκεα πέφυκε· φέρει δ' ἐς Ἑρμέω
 139 ἱρὸν. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱρὸν τοῦτο οὕτω ἔχει. Τέλος δὲ τῆς
 ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ Αἰθίοπος ὧδε ἔλεγον γενέσθαι. ὄψιν ἐν
 τῷ ὕπνῳ τοιγάρδε ἰδόντα αὐτὸν, οἷχεσθαι φεύγοντα· ἐδόκεε
 οἱ ἄνδρα ἐπιστάντα συμβουλεύειν, τοὺς ἱρέας τοὺς ἐν Αἰ-
 γύπτῳ συλλέξαντα πάντας, μέσους διαταμέειν ἰδόντα δὲ
 τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην λέγειν αὐτὸν, ὡς πρόφασιν οἱ δοκοῖ
 ταύτην τοὺς θεοὺς προδεικνύναι, ἵνα ἀσεβήσας περὶ τὰ
 ἱρά, κακόν τι πρὸς θεῶν ἢ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων λάβοι· οὐκ ὡν
 ποιήσῃ ταῦτα· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἱ ἐξεληλυθέναι τὸν χρόνον,
 ὁκόσον κεκρήσθαι ἄρξαντα Αἰγύπτου ἐκχωρήσειν. ἐν
 γὰρ τῇ Αἰθιοπίᾳ ὄντι αὐτῷ τὰ μαντήϊα, τοῖσι χρέωνται
 Αἰθίοπες, ἀνεῖλε, ὡς δέοι αὐτὸν Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύσαι
 ἕτα πεντήκοντα, ὡς ὦν ὁ χρόνος οὗτος ἐξῆι, καὶ αὐτὸν

ἡ ὄψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐπετάρασσε, ἐκὼν ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὁ Σαβακῶς.

Ὡς δ' ἄρα οἴχεσθαι τὸν Αἰθίοπα ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, αὐτὶς 140 τὸν τυφλὸν ἄρχειν, ἐκ τῶν ἐλέων ἀπικόμενον· ἔνθα πενήκοντα ἔτεα, νῆσον χώσας σποδῶ τε καὶ γῇ, οἴκεε. ὅπως γάρ οἱ φοιτᾶν σῖτον ἄγοντας Αἰγυπτίῳ ὥς ἐκάστοισι προστετάχθαι συγῇ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος, ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν κελεύειν σφέας καὶ σποδὸν κομίζειν. ταύτην τὴν νῆσον οὐδεὶς πρότερον ἐδυνάσθη Ἀμυρταίου ἐξευρεῖν· ἀλλὰ ἔτεα ἐπὶ πλέω ἢ ἑπτακόσια οὐκ οἶοί τε ἦσαν αὐτὴν ἀνευρεῖν οἱ πρότεροι γενόμενοι βασιλεῖς Ἀμυρταίου· οὐνομα δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ Ἑλβώ· μέγαθος δ' ἐστὶ πάντῃ δέκα σταδίων.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον, βασιλεῦσαι τὸν ἱρέα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, 141 τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Σεθών· τὸν ἐν ἀλογίῃσι ἔχειν παραχρησάμενον τῶν μαχίμων Αἰγυπτίων, ὥς οὐδὲν δεησόμενον αὐτῶν· ἄλλα τε δὴ ἄτιμα ποιεῦντα ἐς αὐτοὺς, καὶ σφεας ἀπελίσσθαι τὰς ἀρούρας, τοῖσι ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων δεδοσθαι ἐξαιρέτους ἐκάστῳ δυνάδεκα ἀρούρας. μετὰ δὲ, ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐλαύνειν στρατὸν μέγαν Σαναχάριβον βασιλέα Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων. οὐκὼν δὴ ἐθέλειν τοὺς μαχίμους τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βοηθεῖν· τὸν δὲ ἱρέα ἐς ἀπορίην ἀπειλημένον, ἐσελθόντα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον, πρὸς τῷ γαλμα ἀποδύρεσθαι οἷα κινδυνεύει παθεῖν. ὀλοφυρόμενον δ' ἄρα μιν ἐπελθεῖν ὕπνον, καὶ οἱ δόξαι ἐν τῇ ὄψι, ἐπιστάντα τὸν θεὸν θαρσύνειν, ὥς οὐδὲν πείσεται ἄχαρι ἀντιάξων τὸν Ἀραβίων στρατὸν· αὐτὸς γάρ οἱ πέμψειν τιμωροὺς. τούτοις δὴ μιν πίσυνον τοῖσι ἐνυπνίοις, παραλαβόντα Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς βουλομένους οἱ ἔπεσθαι, στρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἐν Πηλουσίῳ· ταύτῃ γάρ εἰσι αἱ ἐσβολαί· ἔπεσθαι δὲ οἱ τῶν μαχίμων μὲν οὐδένα ἀνδρῶν, καπνίλους δὲ, καὶ χειρώνακτας, καὶ ἀγοραίους ἀνθρώπους. ἐνθαῦτα ἀπικομένους, τοῖσι ἐναντίοις αὐτοῖς ἐπιχυθέντας νυκτὸς μὲν ἀρουραίους, κατὰ μὲν φαγέειν τοὺς φαρετρεῶνας αὐτῶν, κατὰ δὲ τὰ τόξα· πρὸς δὲ, τῶν ἀσπίδων τὰ ὄχανα, ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίῃ φευγόντων σφέων, γυμνῶν ὕπλων, πεσέειν πολλοὺς. καὶ νῦν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔστηκε ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου λίθινος, ἔχων

ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς μὲν, λέγων διὰ γραμμάτων τάδε· ΕΣ
ΕΜΕ ΤΙΣ ὈΡΕΩΝ, ΕΤΣΕΒΗΣ ΕΣΤΩ.

- 142 Ἐς μὲν τοσόνδε τοῦ λόγου Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ οἱ ἱρέες
ἔλεγον, ἀποδεικνύντες, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως ἐς τοῦ
Ἡφαίστου τὸν ἱεῖα τοῦτον τὸν τελευταῖον βασιλεύσαντα
μίαν τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας ἀνθρώπων
γενεὰς γενομένας, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃσι ἀρχιρέας καὶ βασιλέας
ἐκατέρους τοσούτους γενομένους. καὶ τοι τριηκόσιοι μὲν
ἀνδρῶν γενεαὶ δυνάεσθαι μύρια ἕτεα· γενεαὶ γὰρ τρεῖς ἀν-
δρῶν, ἑκατὸν ἕτεά ἐστι. μῆς δὲ καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔτι
τῶν ἐπιλοίπων γενεῶν, αἱ ἐπῆσαν τῇσι τριηκοσίῃσι, ἔστι
τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια καὶ χίλια ἕτεα. οὕτω ἐν
μυρίοισι τε ἔτεσι καὶ χιλίοισι καὶ πρὸς τριηκοσίοισι τε
καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔλεγον θεὸν ἀνθρωποειδέα οὐδένα
γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ πρότερον, οὐδὲ ὕστερον ἐν τοῖσι
ὑπολοίποισι Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύσι γενομένοισι, ἔλεγον
τοιούτον οὐδέν. Ἐν τοίνυν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τετράκις
ἔλεγον ἐξ ἡθέων τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατεῖλαι· ἔνθα τε νῦν κατα-
δύεται, ἐνθεῦτεν δις ἐπαντεῖλαι· καὶ ἔνθεν νῦν ἀνατέλλει,
ἐνθαῦτα δις καταδύναι· καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν κατ' Αἶγυπτον ὑπὸ
ταῦτα ἑτεροιωθῆναι, οὔτε τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς, οὔτε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ
ποταμοῦ σφί γινόμενα, οὔτε τὰ ἀμφὶ νούσους, οὔτε τὰ
143 κατὰ τοὺς θανάτους. Πρότερον δὲ Ἐκαταίῳ τῷ λογοποιῷ
ἐν Θήβῃσι γενεηλογήσαντι τε ἑωτὸν, καὶ ἀναδήσαντι
τὴν πατριὴν ἐς ἑκκαίδεκατον θεὸν, ἐποίησαν οἱ ἱρέες τοῦ
Διὸς, οἷόν τι καὶ ἐμοὶ οὐ γενεηλογήσαντι ἑμεωυτόν. ἔσα-
γαγόντες ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἔσω, ἐὼν μέγα, ἐξηρίθμεον δει-
κνύντες κολοσσούς ξυλίνους τοσούτους ὅσους περ εἶπον·
ἀρχιρεὺς γὰρ ἕκαστος αὐτόθι ἴσταται ἐπὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ζῆς
εἰκόνα ἑωυτοῦ. ἀριθμέοντες ὦν, καὶ δεικνύντες οἱ ἱρέες
ἐμοὶ, ἀπεδείκνυσαν παῖδα πατρὸς ἑωυτῶν ἕκαστον ἑόντα,
ἐκ τοῦ ἀγχιστα ἀποθανόντος τῆς εἰκόνης διεξιόντες διὰ
πασέων, ἕως οὗ ἀπέδεξαν ἀπάσας αὐτάς. Ἐκαταίῳ δὲ
γενεηλογήσαντι ἑωυτόν, καὶ ἀναδήσαντι ἐς ἑκκαίδεκατον
θεὸν, ἀντεγενεηλόγησαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀριθμήσει, οὐ δεκόμενοι
παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ θεοῦ γενέσθαι ἀνθρώπων. ἀντεγενεηλό-
γησαν δὲ ὧδε, φάμενοι ἕκαστον τῶν κολοσσῶν Πύρῳμιν
ἐκ Πιρώμιος γεγονέναι· ἐς δὲ τοὺς πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα

καὶ τριηκοσίους ἀπέδεξαν κολοσσούς Πίρωμιν ἐκ Πιρώμιος γενόμενον, καὶ οὔτε ἐς θεόν, οὔτε ἐς ἥρωα ἀνέδησαν αὐτούς. Πίρωμις δέ ἐστι κατ' Ἑλλάδα γλώσσῃ καλὸς κάγαθός. Ἦδη ὦν, τῶν αἱ εἰκόνες ἦσαν, τοιοῦτους ἀπε- 144 δαίκνυσάν σφεας πάντας ἔοντας, θεῶν δὲ πολλὸν ἀπαλαγμένους. τὸ δὲ πρότερον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων θεοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἄρχοντας, οἰκέοντας ἅμα τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι· καὶ τούτων αἰεὶ ἓνα τὸν κρατέοντα εἶναι ὕστατον δὲ αὐτῆς βασιλεύσαι Ὁρον τὸν Ὀσίριος παῖδα, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἕλληνας ὀνομάζουσιν· τοῦτον, καταπαύσαντα Τυφῶνα, βασιλεύσαι ὕστατον Αἰγύπτου. Ὀσιρις δέ ἐστι Διόνυσος κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλώσσῃ.

Ἐν Ἑλλήσι μὲν νῦν νεώτατοι τῶν θεῶν νομίζονται 145 εἶναι Ἡρακλῆς τε καὶ Διόνυσος καὶ Πᾶν· παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ Πᾶν μὲν ἀρχαιότατος, καὶ τῶν ὀκτῶ τῶν πρώτων λεγομένων θεῶν· Ἡρακλῆς δὲ τῶν δευτέρων, τῶν δυνάδεκα λεγομένων εἶναι· Διόνυσος δὲ, τῶν τρίτων, οἱ ἐκ τῶν δυνάδεκα θεῶν ἐγένοντο. Ἡρακλεῖ μὲν δὴ ὅσα αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοί φασιν εἶναι ἕτεα ἐς Ἀμασιν βασιλέα, δεδήλωται μοι πρόσθε· Πανὶ δὲ ἔτι τούτων πλεονα λέγεται εἶναι, Διονύσῳ δ' ἐλάχιστα τούτων· καὶ τούτῳ πεντακισχίλια καὶ μύρια λογίζονται εἶναι ἐς Ἀμασιν βασιλέα. καὶ ταῦτα Αἰγύπτιοι ἀτρεκέως φασὶ ἐπίστασθαι, αἰεὶ τε λογιζόμενοι, καὶ αἰεὶ ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰ ἕτεα. Διονύσῳ μὲν νῦν τῷ ἐκ Σεμέλης τῆς Κάδμου λεγομένῳ γενέσθαι, κατὰ ἑξακόσια ἕτεα καὶ χίλια μάλιστα ἐστὶ ἐς ἐμέ· Ἡρακλεῖ δὲ τῷ Ἀλκμήνης, κατὰ εἰνακόσια ἕτεα· Πανὶ δὲ τῷ ἐκ Πηνελόπης, (ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ καὶ Ἑρμῆς λέγεται γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὁ Πᾶν) ἐλάσσῳ ἕτεά ἐστι τῶν Τρωϊκῶν, κατὰ τὰ ὀκτακόσια μάλιστα ἐς ἐμέ. 146 Τούτων ὦν ἀμφοτέρων πάρεστι χρᾶσθαι τοῖσι τις πείσεται λεγόμενοις μᾶλλον· ἐμοὶ δ' ὦν ἡ περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμη ἀποδέδεται. εἰ μὲν γὰρ φανεροί τε ἐγένοντο καὶ κατεγήρασαν καὶ οὗτοι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, κατὰπερ Ἡρακλῆς ὁ ἐξ Ἀμφιτρύωνος γενόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ Διόνυσος ὁ ἐκ Σεμέλης, καὶ Πᾶν ὁ ἐκ Πηνελόπης γενόμενος, ἔφη ἂν τις, καὶ τούτους ἄλλους, ἀνδρας γενομένους, ἔχειν τὰ ἐκείνων οὐνόματα τῶν προγεγονότων θεῶν. νῦν δὲ Διόνυσόν τε

λέγουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὡς αὐτίκα γενόμενον ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐνεργράψατο Ζεὺς, καὶ ἤνικε ἐς Νύσαν τὴν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου ἐοῦσαν ἐν τῇ Αἰθιοπίῃ· καὶ Πανὸς γε πέρι οὐκ ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν ὅκη ἐτράπετο γενόμενος. δῆλά μοι ὦν γέγονε, ὅτι ὕστερον ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τούτων τὰ οὐνόματα, ἢ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν· ἀπ' οὗ δὲ ἐπύθοντο χρόνου, ἀπὸ τούτου γενεηλογέουσι αὐτῶν τὴν γένεσιν. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι.

- 147 "Ὅσα δὲ οἱ τε ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι, ὁμολογέοντες τοῖσι ἄλλοισι, κατὰ ταύτην τὴν χώραν γενέσθαι, ταῦτ' ἤδη φράσω· προσέσται δέ τι αὐτοῖσι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὀψιος. Ἐλευθερωθέντες Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ τὸν ἱρέα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου βασιλεύσαντα, (οὐδένα γὰρ χρόνον οἰοί τε ἦσαν ἄνευ βασιλέος διαιτᾶσθαι,) ἐστήσαντο δυνάδεκα βασιλέας, δυνάδεκα μοίρας δασάμενοι Αἰγυπτου πᾶσαν. οὗτοι ἐπιγαμίας ποιησάμενοι, ἐβασίλευον, νόμοις τοισίδε χρεώμενοι, μήτε καταίρειν ἀλλήλους, μήτε πλεόν τι δίκῃσθαι ἔχειν τὸν ἕτερον τοῦ ἐτέρου, εἰναί τε φίλους τὰ μάλιστα. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα τοὺς νόμους τούτους ἐποιεῦντο, ἰσχυρῶς περιστέλλοντες. ἐκέχρηστό σφι κατ' ἀρχὰς αὐτίκα ἐνισταμένοισι ἐς τὰς τυραννίδας "τὸν "χαλκῆ φιάλῃ σπείσαντα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τοῦτον ἀπάσης βασιλεύσειν Αἰγύπτου." ἐς γὰρ
- 148 δὴ τὰ πάντα ἱρὰ συνελέγοντο. Καὶ δὴ σφι μνημόσυνα ἔδοξε λιπέσθαι κοινῇ· δόξαν δέ σφι, ἐποιήσαντο λαβύρινθον, ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος, κατὰ Κροκοδείλων καλεομένην πόλιν μάλιστα κη κείμενον· τὸν ἐγὼ ἤδη ἶδον λόγου μέζω. εἰ γάρ τις τὰ ἐξ Ἑλλήνων τείχεά τε καὶ ἔργων ἀπόδεξιν συλλογίσαιτο, ἐλάσσονος πόνου τε ἂν καὶ δαπάνης φανείη ἔοντα τοῦ λαβυρίνθου τούτου· καὶ τοι ἀξιολόγος γε καὶ ὁ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐστὶ νηὶς, καὶ ὁ ἐν Σάμῳ ἦσαν μὲν νυν καὶ αἱ πυραμίδες λόγου μέζονες, καὶ πολλῶν ἐκάστη αὐτέων Ἑλληνικῶν ἔργων καὶ μεγάλων ἀνταξίῃ· ὁ δὲ δὴ λαβύρινθος καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας ὑπερβάλλει. τοῦ γὰρ δυνάδεκα μὲν εἰσι αὐλαὶ κατάστεγοι, ἀντίπυλοι ἀλλήλησι, ἐξ μὲν πρὸς βορέῳ, ἐξ δὲ πρὸς νότον τετραμμέναι συνεχεές· τοῖχος δὲ ἔξωθεν ὁ αὐτὸς σφεας περιέργει. οἰκήματα δ' ἔνεστι διπλᾶ, τὰ μὲν,

ὑπόγαια, τὰ δὲ, μετέωρα ἐπ' ἐκείνοισι, τρισχίλια ἀριθμὸν, πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων ἐκάτερα. τὰ μὲν νυν μετέωρα τῶν οἰκημάτων αὐτοὶ τε ὀρέομεν διεξιόντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ θεσάμενοι λέγομεν· τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ὑπόγαια λόγοισι ἐπυνθανόμεθα. οἱ γὰρ ἐπεστεῶτες τῶν Αἰγυπτίων δεικνύναι αὐτὰ οὐδαμῶς ᾗθελον, φάμενοι θήκας αὐτόθι εἶναι τῶν τε ἀρχὴν τὸν λαβυρίνθου τοῦτον οἰκοδομησαμένων βασιλέων, καὶ τῶν ἱρῶν κροκοδείλων. οὕτω τῶν μὲν κάτω πέρι οἰκημάτων ἀκοῇ παραλαβόντες λέγομεν· τὰ δὲ ἄνω, μέζονα ἀνθρωπῆϊων ἔργων, αὐτοὶ ὀρέομεν. αἱ γὰρ ἔξοδοι διὰ τῶν στεγέων, καὶ οἱ ἐλιγμοὶ διὰ τῶν αὐλέων ἔοντες ποικιλώτατοι, θῶμα μυρίον παρείχοντο ἐξ αὐλῆς τε ἐς τὰ οἰκήματα διεξιούσι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐς παστάδας, ἐς στέγας τε ἄλλας ἐκ τῶν παστάδων, καὶ ἐς αὐλὰς ἄλλας ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων. ὀροφὴ δὲ πάντων τούτων, λιθίνη, κατὰπερ οἱ τοῖχοι· οἱ δὲ τοῖχοι, τύπων ἐγγεγλυμμένων πλέοι. αὐλὴ δὲ ἐκάστη, περίστυλος, λίθου λευκοῦ ἀρμοσμένου τὰ μάλιστα. τῆς δὲ γωνίης τελευτῶντος τοῦ λαβυρίνθου ἔχεται πυραμὶς τεσσαρακοντόργυιος, ἐν τῇ ζῶα μεγάλα ἐγγέγλυπται· ὁδὸς δ' ἐς αὐτὴν ὑπὸ γῆν πεποιήται.

Τοῦ δὲ λαβυρίνθου τούτου ἔοντος τοιούτου, θῶμα ἔτι 149 μέζον παρέχεται ἡ Μοίριος καλεομένη λίμνη, παρ' ἣν ὁ λαβύρινθος οὗτος οἰκοδομήται. τῆς τὸ περίμετρον τῆς περιόδου εἰσὶ στάδιοι ἑξακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι, σχοίνων ἐξήκοντα ἔοντων ἴσοι καὶ αὐτῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. κέεται δὲ μακρὴ ἡ λίμνη πρὸς βορέην τε καὶ νότον, ἐοῦσα βάθος, τῇ βαθυτάτῃ αὐτῇ ἑωυτῆς, πεντηκοντόργυιος. ὅτι δὲ χειροποίητός ἐστι καὶ ὀρυκτῇ, αὐτὴ δηλοῖ. ἐν γὰρ μέσῃ τῇ λίμνῃ μάλιστα κη ἐστᾶσι δύο πυραμίδες, τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπερέχουσai πεντήκοντα ὀργυῖας ἐκατέρῃ, καὶ τὸ κατ' ὕδατος οἰκοδομήται ἕτερον τοσοῦτον καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρῃσι ἔπεστι κολοσσὸς λίθινος, κατήμενος ἐν θρόνῳ. οὕτω αἱ μὲν πυραμίδες εἰσὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιέων, αἱ δ' ἑκατὸν ὀργυιαὶ δίκαιαί εἰσι στάδιον ἐξάπλεθρον· ἐξαπέδου μὲν τῆς ὀργυῖης μετρεομένης, καὶ τετραπήχεος· τῶν ποδῶν μὲν τετραπαλαίστων ἔοντων, τοῦ δὲ πήχεος, ἐξαπαλαίστου. Τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ, αὐθιγενὲς

μὲν οὐκ ἔστι· ἄνδρος γὰρ δὴ δεινῶς ἐστὶ ταύτη· ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου δὲ κατὰ διώρυχα ἐσῆκται, καὶ ἐξ μὲν μῆνας ἔσω ῥέει ἐς τὴν λίμνην, ἐξ δὲ μῆνας ἔξω ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον αὐτὺς. καὶ ἐπεὰν μὲν ἐκρέῃ ἔξω, ἡ δὲ τότε τοὺς ἐξ μῆνας ἐς τὸ βασιλῆϊον καταβάλλει ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἐκάστην τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἐκ τῶν ἰχθῶν· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐσίῃ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτὴν, 150 εἴκοσι μνέας. Ἐλεγον δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ ὥς ἐς τὴν Σύρτιν τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ ἐκδίδοι ἡ λίμνη αὕτη ὑπὸ γῆν, τετραμμένη τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ τοῦ ὀρύγματος τούτου οὐκ ὥρεον τὸν χοῦν οὐδαμοῦ ἔοντα, ἐπιμελὲς γὰρ δὴ μοι ἦν, εἰρόμην τοὺς ἀγχιστα οἰκέοντας τῆς λίμνης, ὅκου εἴη ὁ χοῦς ὁ ἐξορυχθεῖς. οἱ δὲ ἔφρασαν μοι ἵνα ἐξεφορήθῃ, καὶ εὐπετέως ἐπειθον· ἦδεα γὰρ λόγῳ καὶ ἐν Νίνῳ τῇ Ἀσσυρίῳ πόλει γενόμενον ἕτερον τοιοῦτο. τὰ γὰρ Σαρδαναπάλλου τοῦ Νίνου βασιλέως χρήματα, ἔοντα μεγάλα, καὶ φυλασσόμενα ἐν θησαυροῖσι καταγαίοισι, ἐπενόησαν κλώπες ἐκφορῆσαι. ἐκ δὴ ὧν τῶν σφετέρων οἰκίων ἀρξάμενοι οἱ κλώπες, ὑπὸ γῆν σταθμεόμενοι ἐς τὰ βασιλῆϊα οἰκία ὄρυσσον. τὸν δὲ χοῦν τὸν ἐκφορεόμενον ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος, ὅπως γένοιτο νῦξ, ἐς τὸν Τίγριν ποταμὸν, παραρρέοντα τὴν Νίνον, ἐξεφόρεον· ἐς δὲ κατεργάσαντο ὅτι ἐβούλοντο. τοιοῦτον ἕτερον ἤκουσα καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ λίμνης ὀρυγμα γενέσθαι· πλὴν οὐ νυκτὸς, ἀλλὰ μετ' ἡμέρην ποιούμενον· ὀρύσσοντας γὰρ τὸν χοῦν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον φορέειν· ὁ δὲ, ὑπολαμβάνων, ἔμελλε διαχέειν. ἡ μὲν νυν λίμνη αὕτη οὕτω λέγεται ὀρυχθῆναι.

151 Τῶν δὲ δωδέκα βασιλέων δικαιοσύνην χρεωμένων, ἀνὰ χρόνον ὥς ἔθυσαν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τῇ ὑστάτῃ τῆς ὀρθῆς μελλόντων κατασπείσειν, ὁ ἀρχιεὺς ἐξένεικέ σφι φιάλας χρυσέας, τῇσί περ ἐώθεσαν σπένδειν, ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, ἑνδεκα, δωδέκα εἰσὶ. ἐνθαῦτα ὥς οὐκ εἶχε φιάλην ὁ ἔσχατος ἐστεὼς αὐτῶν Ψαμμίτιχος, περιελόμενος τὴν κυνέην, εἰῶσαν χαλκῆν, ὑπέσχε τε καὶ ἔσπενδε. κυνέας δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ἐφόρεόν τε βασιλέες, καὶ ἐτίγγανον τότε ἔχοντες. Ψαμμίτιχος μὲν νυν οὐδενὶ δολερῷ νόφ χρεώμενος, ὑπέσχε τὴν κυνέην. οἱ δὲ, ἐν

φρενὶ λαβόντες τό τε ποιηθὲν ἐκ Ψαμμίτιχου, καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ὃ τι ἐκέχρητό σφι, τὸν χαλκῇ σπείσαντα αὐτῶν φιάλῃ, τοῦτον βασιλέα ἔσεσθαι μόνου Αἰγύπτου ἀναμνησθέντες τοῦ χρησμοῦ, κτείνειν μὲν οὐκ ἐδικαίωσαν Ψαμμίτιχον, ὥς ἀνεύρισκον βασανίζοντες ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς προνοίης αὐτὸν ποιήσαντα· ἐς δὲ τὰ ἔλεα ἔδοξέ σφι διῶξαι, ψιλώσαντας τὰ πλείστα τῆς δυνάμιος· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐλέων ὀρμεώμενον μὴ ἐπιμίσγασθαι τῇ ἄλλῃ Αἰγύπτῳ. Τὸν δὲ Ψαμμίτιχον τοῦτον, πρότερον φεύγοντα τὸν Αἰ- 152 θίοπα Σαβακῶν, ὅς οἱ τὸν πατέρα Νεκῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοῦτον φεύγοντα τότε ἐς Συρίην, ὥς ἀπαλλάχθῃ ἐκ τῆς ἕψιος τοῦ οὐείρου ὁ Αἰθίοψ, κατήγαγον Αἰγυπτίων οὔτοι οἱ ἐκ νομοῦ τοῦ Σαῦτεώ εἰσι. μετὰ δὲ, βασιλεύοντα, τὸ δεύτερον πρὸς τῶν ἔνδεκα βασιλέων καταλαμβάνει μιν διὰ τὴν κυνέην φεύγειν ἐς τὰ ἔλεα. Ἐπιστάμενος ὦν ὡς περιυβρισμένος εἴη πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐπενόεε τίσασθαι τοὺς διώξαντας. πέμψαντι δέ οἱ ἐς Βουτὸν πόλιν ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τῆς Λητοῦς, ἔνθα δὴ Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐστι μαντήϊον ἀψευδέστατον, ἦλθε χρησμὸς, ὡς τίσις ἦξει ἀπὸ θαλάσσης χαλκῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανέντων. καὶ τῷ μὲν δὴ ἀπιστὴν μεγάλη ὑπεκέχυτο, χαλκέους οἱ ἀνδρας ἤξειν ἐπικούρους. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος, ἀναγκαίῃ κατέλαβε Ἰωνᾶς τε καὶ Κᾶρας ἀνδρας, κατὰ ληΐην ἐκπλώσαντας, ἀπενειχθῆναι ἐς Αἴγυπτον· ἐκβάντας δὲ ἐς γῆν, καὶ ὀπλισθέντας χαλκῷ, ἀγγέλλει τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὰ ἔλεα ἀπικόμενος τῷ Ψαμμίτιχῳ, (ὡς οὐκ ἰδὼν πρότερον χαλκῷ ἀνδρας ὀπλισθέντας,) ὡς χάλκεοι ἀνδρες ἀπυγμένοι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης λεηλατεῦσι τὸ πεδίου. ὁ δὲ, μαθὼν τὸ χρηστήριον ἐπιτελούμενον, φιλα τε τοῖσι Ἰωσι καὶ Καρσὶ ποιεῖται, καὶ σφεας, μεγάλα ὑπισχνεύμενος, πείθει μετ' ἑωυτοῦ γενέσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἐπίεισε, οὕτω ἅμα τοῖσι μετ' ἑωυτοῦ βουλομένοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι, καὶ τοῖσι ἐπικούροισι, καταίρει τοὺς βασιλέας.

Κρατήσας δὲ Αἰγύπτου πάσης ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος, ἐποίησε 153 τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ προπύλαια ἐν Μέμφι, τὰ πρὸς νότον ἀνεμον τετραμμένα· αὐλήν τε τῷ Ἄπι, ἐν τῇ τρέφεται ἐπεὰν φανῇ ὁ Ἄπις, οἰκοδόμησε, ἐναντίον τῶν προπυλαίων, πᾶσάν τε περίστυλον ἐοῦσαν, καὶ τύπων πλέην ἀντὶ δὲ

- κίωνων, ὑπεστάσι κολοσσοὶ δυωδεκαπῆχες τῇ αὐλῇ. ὁ δὲ Ἄπις, κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσάν ἐστι Ἑπαφος.
- 154 Τοῖσι δὲ Ἴωσι καὶ τοῖσι Καρσὶ τοῖσι συγκατεργασάμενοισι αὐτῷ ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος δίδωσι χώρους ἐνοικῆσαι ἀντίους ἀλλήλων, τοῦ Νείλου τὸ μέσον ἔχοντος· τοῖσι οὐνόματα ἐτέθη Στρατόπεδα. τούτους τε δὴ σφι τοὺς χώρους δίδωσι, καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ὑπέσχετο πάντα ἀπέδωκε· καὶ δὴ καὶ παῖδας παρέβαλε αὐτοῖσι Αἰγυπτίους, τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐκδιδάσκεσθαι. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ἐκμαθόντων τὴν γλῶσσαν οἱ νῦν ἐρμηνέες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γεγόνασι. οἱ δὲ Ἴωνές τε καὶ οἱ Κᾶρες τούτους τοὺς χώρους οἴκησαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν· εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι οἱ χώροι πρὸς θαλάσσης, ὀλίγον ἔνερθε Βουβάστιος πόλιος, ἐπὶ τῷ Πηλουσιῷ καλευμένῳ στόματι τοῦ Νείλου. τούτους μὲν δὴ χρόνῳ ὕστερον βασιλεὺς Ἀμασις ἐξαναστήσας, ἐνθεύτεν κατοίκησε ἐς Μέμφιν, φυλακὴν ἐωυτοῦ ποιεύμενος πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων. τούτων δὲ οἰκισθέντων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οἱ Ἕλληνες οὕτω ἐπιμισγόμενοι τούτοισι τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον γινόμενα ἀπὸ Ψαμμίτιχου βασιλέως ἀρξάμενοι πάντα καὶ τὰ ὕστερον ἐπιστάμεθα ἀτρεκέως. πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀλλόγλωσσοι κατοικίσθησαν. ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἐξάνεστησαν χώρων, ἐν τούτοισι δὴ οἱ τε ὄλκοι τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὰ ἐρείπια τῶν οἰκημάτων τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ ἦσαν. Ψαμμίτιχος μὲν νυν οὕτω ἔσχε τὴν Αἴγυπτον.
- 155 Τοῦ δὲ χρηστηρίου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολλὰ ἐπεμνήσθην ἤδη, καὶ δὴ λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀξίου ἐόντος ποιήσομαι. τὸ γὰρ χρηστήριον τοῦτο τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ἔστι μὲν Λητοῦς ἱρὸν, ἐν πόλει δὲ μεγάλη ἰδρυμένον, κατὰ τὸ Σεβεννυτικὸν καλούμενον στόμα τοῦ Νείλου, ἀναπλέοντι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω. οὐνομα δὲ τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ὅκου τὸ χρηστήριον ἔστι, Βουτῶ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον οὐνόμασταί μοι. ἱρὸν δὲ ἔστι ἐν τῇ Βουτοῖ ταύτῃ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος. καὶ ὁ γε νηὸς τῆς Λητοῦς, ἐν τῷ δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον ἔνι, αὐτὸς τε τυγχάνει ἐὼν μέγας, καὶ τὰ προπύλαια ἔχει ἐς ὕψος δέκα ὀργυιῶν. τὸ δέ μοι τῶν φανερῶν θῶμα μέγιστον παρεχόμενον, φράσω. ἔστι ἐν τῷ τεμένει τούτῳ Λητοῦς νηὸς ἐξ ἑνὸς λίθου πεποιημένος, ἐς τε ὕψος, καὶ ἐς μῆκος· καὶ τοῖχος ἕκαστος τούτοισι ἴσος· τεσσερά-

κουτα πήχεων τούτων ἕκαστόν ἐστι. τὸ δὲ καταστέγασμα τῆς ὀροφῆς, ἄλλος ἐπικέεται λίθος, ἔχων τὴν παρωροφίδα τετράπηχυν. Οὕτω μὲν νυν ὁ νηὸς τῶν φανερῶν μοι τῶν 156 περὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρόν ἐστι θυμασστότατον· τῶν δὲ δευτέρων, νῆσος ἡ Χέμμις καλυμένη. ἔστι μὲν ἐν λίμνῃ βαθέῃ καὶ πλατέῃ κειμένη παρὰ τὸ ἐν Βουτοῖ ἱρόν· λέγεται δὲ ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι αὕτη ἡ νῆσος πλωτή. αὐτὸς μὲν ἔγωγε οὔτε πλέουσας, οὔτε κινηθεῖσαν ἴδον· τέθηπα δὲ ἀκούων, εἰ νῆσος ἀληθὲς ἐστὶ πλωτή. ἐν δὲ ὧν ταύτῃ νηὸς τε Ἀπόλλωνος μέγας ἐνι, καὶ βωμοὶ τριφάσιοι ἐνιδρύονται. ἐμπεφύκασι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ φοίνικες συχνοὶ, καὶ ἄλλα δένδρεα, καὶ καρποφόρα καὶ ἄφορα, πολλὰ. λόγον δὲ τόνδε ἐπιλέγοντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, φασὶ εἶναι αὐτὴν πλωτήν· ὥς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ οὐκ εἴσῃ πρότερον πλωτῇ, Λητῶ, εἴσῃσα τῶν ὀκτῶ θεῶν τῶν πρώτων γενομένων, οἰκέουσα δὲ ἐν Βουτοῖ πόλι, ἵνα δὴ οἱ τὸ χρηστήριον τοῦτό ἐστι, Ἀπόλλωνα παρὰ Ἴσιος παρακαταθήκη δεξαμένη, διέσωσε κατακρύψασα ἐν τῇ νῦν πλωτῇ λεγομένη νήσῳ· ὅτε δὴ τὸ πᾶν διζήμενος ὁ Τυφὼν ἐπήλθε, θέλων ἐξευρεῖν τοῦ Ὀσίριος τὸν παῖδα. (Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ, καὶ Ἀρτεμιν, Διονύσου καὶ Ἴσιος λέγουσι εἶναι παῖδας· Λητοῦν δὲ, τροφὸν αὐτοῖσι καὶ σώτειραν γενέσθαι. Αἰγυπτιστὶ δὲ Ἀπόλλων μὲν, Ὄρος· Δημήτηρ δὲ, Ἴσις· Ἀρτεμις δὲ, Βούβαστις. ἐκ τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου, Αἰσχύλος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος ἥρπασε τὸ ἐγὼ φράσω, μῦθος δὴ ποιητέων τῶν προγενομένων. ἐποίησε γὰρ Ἀρτεμιν εἶναι θυγατέρα Δήμητρος.) τὴν δὲ νῆσον διὰ τοῦτο γενέσθαι πλωτήν. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι.

Ψαμμίτιχος δὲ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου τέσσερα καὶ 157 πεντήκοντα ἔτεα· τῶν τὰ ἐνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα, Ἀζωτον, τῆς Συρίας μεγάλην πόλιν, προσκατήμενος ἐπολιόρκεε, ἐς τὸ ἐξεῖλε. αὕτη δὲ ἡ Ἀζωτος ἀπασέων πολιῶν ἐπὶ πλείστον χρόνον πολιορκευμένη ἀντέσχε, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

Ψαμμίτιχου δὲ Νεκὸς παῖς ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐβασίλευσε 158 Αἰγύπτου· ὃς τῇ διώρυχῃ ἐπεχείρησε πρώτος τῇ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν φερούσῃ, τὴν Δαρείος ὁ Πέρσης δεύτερα διώρυξε· τῆς μῆκος μὲν ἐστὶ πλόος ἡμέραι τέσσερες, εὖρος δὲ ὠρύχθη ὥστε τριήρεας δύο πλέειν ὁμοῦ

- ἐλαστρευμένας. ἦκται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτήν· ἦκται δὲ κατύπερθε ὀλίγον Βουβάστιος πόλις, παρὰ Πάτουμον τὴν Ἀραβίην πόλιν· ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. ὥρυκται δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου τὰ πρὸς Ἀραβίην ἔχοντα· ἔχεται δὲ κατύπερθε τοῦ πεδίου τὸ κατὰ Μέμφιν τεῖνον ὄρος, ἐν τῷ αἰ λιθοτομίαι ἔνεισι. τοῦ ὦν δὴ οὖρεος τούτου παρὰ τὴν ὑπωρέην ἦκται ἡ διώρυξ ἀπ' ἐσπέρης μακρὴ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ· καὶ ἔπειτα τείνει ἐς διασφάγας, φέρουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ οὖρεος πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον ἄνεμον, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἀράβιον. τῇ δὲ ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι καὶ συντομώτατον, ἐκ τῆς βορηῆς θαλάσσης ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν νοτίην καὶ Ἐρυθρὴν τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην καλεομένην, ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασίου οὖρεος, τοῦ οὐρίζοντος Αἰγυπτίον τε καὶ Συρίην, ἀπὸ τούτου εἰσὶ στάδιοι χίλιοι ἀπαρτὶ ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ συντομώτατον· ἡ δὲ διώρυξ πολλῶ μακροτέρη, ὅσῳ σκολιωτέρη ἐστὶ, τὴν ἐπὶ Νεκῷ βασιλέος ὀρύσσοντες Αἰγυπτίων ἀπώλυντο δυνάδεκα μυριάδες. Νεκῷς μὲν νυν μεταξὺ ὀρύσσων ἐπαύσατο, μαντηίου ἐμποδίου γενομένου τοιοῦδε, “τῷ βαρβάρῳ αὐτὸν προεργάζεσθαι.” βαρβάρους δὲ πάντας οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι
- 159 καλέουσι τοὺς μὴ σφίσι ὁμογλώσσους. Πausάμενος δὲ τῆς διώρυχος ὁ Νεκῷς, ἐτράπετο πρὸς στρατηγίας· καὶ τριήρεις, αἱ μὲν, ἐπὶ τῇ βορηῇ θαλάσῃ ἐποιήθησαν, αἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ κόλπῳ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσῃ· τῶν ἔτι οἱ ὅλκοι ἐπίδηλοι. καὶ ταύτησί τε ἐχρᾶτο ἐν τῷ δέοντι· καὶ Σύροισι πεζῇ ὁ Νεκῷς συμβαλὼν ἐν Μαγδόλῳ ἐνίκησε· μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην, Κάδυτιν πόλιν τῆς Συρίας ἐοῦσαν μεγάλην εἶλε. ἐν τῇ δὲ ἐσθῆτι ἔτυχε ταῦτα κατεργασάμενος, ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, πέμψας ἐς Βραγχίδας τὰς Μιλησίων. μετὰ δὲ, ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτεα τὰ πάντα ἄρξας, τελευτᾷ, τῷ παιδὶ Ψάμμι παραδοὺς τὴν ἀρχήν.
- 160 Ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τὸν Ψάμμιν βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου ἀπίκοντο Ἡλείων ἄνδρες ἄγγελοι, αὐχέοντες δικαιοτάτα καὶ κάλλιστα τιθέναι τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγῶνα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ δοκέοντες παρὰ ταῦτα οὐδ' ἂν τοὺς σοφωτάτους ἀνθρώπων Αἰγυπτίους οὐδὲν ἐπέξευρεῖν. ὥς δὲ

ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον οἱ Ἥλαιοι ἔλεγον τῶν εἵνεκα ἀπίκοντο, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος συγκαλέεται Αἴγυπτίῳν τοὺς λεγομένους εἶναι σοφωτάτους. συνελθόντες δὲ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, ἐπυνθάνοντο τῶν Ἥλείων λεγόντων ἅπαντα τὰ κατῆκει σφέας ποιέειν περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα· ἀπηγησάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα, ἔφασαν ἥκειν ἐπιμαθησόμενοι “εἴ τι ἔχοιεν Αἰγύπτιοι τούτων δικαιότερον ἐπεξευρεῖν.” οἱ δὲ, βουλευσάμενοι, ἐπειρώτων τοὺς Ἥλείους εἴ σφι οἱ πολιῆται ἐναγωνίζονται. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν, καὶ σφέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὁμοίως τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐξεῖναι ἀγωνίζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ἔφασαν σφέας, οὕτω τιθέντας, “παντὸς τοῦ δικαίου ἡμαρτηκέναι· οὐδεμίαν γὰρ εἶναι μηχανὴν, ὅπως οὐ τῷ ἀστῷ ἀγωνιζομένῳ προσθῇσονται, ἀδικέοντες τὸν ξεῖνον. ἀλλ’ εἰ δὴ βούλονται δικαίως τιθέναι, καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα ἀπικοῖατο ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ξείνοισι ἀγωνιστῇσι ἐκέλευον τὸν ἀγῶνα τιθέναι, Ἥλείων δὲ μηδεὺς εἶναι ἀγωνίζεσθαι.” Ταῦτα μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι Ἥλείοισι ὑπεθήκαντο.

Ψάμμιος δὲ ἐξ ἔτεα μῶνον βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου, 161 καὶ στρατευσάμενου ἐς Αἰθιοπίην, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τελευτήσαντος, ἐξεδέξατο Ἀπρίης ὁ Ψάμμιος· ὃς μετὰ Ψαμίτιχον τὸν ἐωυτοῦ προπάτορα ἐγένετο εὐδαιμονέστατος τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων, ἐπ’ ἔτεα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἄρξας ἐν τοῖσι ἐπὶ τε Σιδῶνα στρατὸν ἤλασε, καὶ ἐναυμάχησε τῷ Τυρίῳ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἔδεε κακῶς γενέσθαι, ἐγένετο ἀπὸ προφασίος τὴν ἐγὼ μεζόνως μὲν ἐν τοῖσι Λιβυκοῖσι λόγοισι ἀπηγήσομαι, μετρίως δ’ ἐν τῷ παρόντι. ἀποπέμψας γὰρ στρατεύμα ὁ Ἀπρίης ἐπὶ Κυρηναίους, μεγαλωστὶ προσέπταισε. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιμεμφόμενοι, ἀπέστησαν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ, δοκέοντες τὸν Ἀπρίην ἐκ προνοίας αὐτοὺς ἀποπέμψαι ἐς φαινόμενον κακόν, ἵνα δὴ σφέων φθορὴ γένηται, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀσφαλέστερον ἄρχῃ. ταῦτα δὲ δεινὰ ποιούμενοι οὗτοί τε οἱ ἀπονουστήσαντες, καὶ οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων φίλοι, ἀπέστησαν ἐκ τῆς ἰθείης. Πυθόμενος δὲ Ἀπρίης ταῦτα, 162 πέμπει ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς Ἀμασιν, καταπαύσοντα λόγοισι. ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ τε ἀπικόμενος κατελάμβανε τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ταῦτα μὴ ποιέειν λέγοντος αὐτοῦ, τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων

ὀπισθε στάς, περιέθηκέ οἱ κυνέην· καὶ περιτιθεὶς, ἔφη
 “ἐπὶ βασιλῇῃ περιτιθέναι.” καὶ τῷ οὐ κως ἀκούσιον
 ἐγίνετο τὸ ποιούμενον, ὥς διεδείκνυε. ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ ἐστή-
 σαντό μιν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἀπεστεῶτες, παρε-
 σκευάζετο ὥς ἔλδων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην. Πυθόμενος δὲ
 ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπρίης, ἔπεμπε ἐπ’ Ἀμασιν ἄνδρα δόκιμον τῶν
 περὶ ἑωυτὸν Αἰγυπτίων, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Πατάρβημις·
 ἐντειλάμενος αὐτῷ ζῶντα Ἀμασιν ἀγαγεῖν παρ’ ἑωυτόν.
 ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενος τὸν Ἀμασιν ἐκάλεε ὁ Πατάρβημις, ὁ
 Ἀμασις (ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐπ’ ἵππου κατήμενος) ἐπάρας, ἀπε-
 ματαΐσει· καὶ τοῦτό μιν ἐκέλευε Ἀπρίην ἀπάγειν. ὅμως
 δὲ αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦν τὸν Πατάρβημιν, βασιλέος μεταπεμπο-
 μένου, ἰέναι πρὸς αὐτόν· τὸν δὲ αὐτῷ ὑποκρίνεσθαι, ὥς
 “ταῦτα πάλαι παρεσκευάζετο ποιέειν, καὶ αὐτῷ οὐ μέμ-
 “ψασθαι Ἀπρίην· παρέσεσθαι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ
 “ἄλλους ἄξειν.” τὸν δὲ Πατάρβημιν ἔκ τε τῶν λεγο-
 μένων οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ παρασκευαζόμενον
 ὀρέοντα, σπουδῇ ἀπιέναι, βουλόμενον τὴν ταχίστην βα-
 σιλέϊ δηλῶσαι τὰ πρησόμενα. ὥς δὲ ἀπικέσθαι αὐτόν
 πρὸς τὸν Ἀπρίην, οὐκ ἄγοντα τὸν Ἀμασιν, οὐδένα λόγον
 αὐτῷ δόντα, ἀλλὰ περιθύμως ἔχοντα, περιταμεῖν προσ-
 τάξει αὐτοῦ τά τε ὦτα καὶ τὴν ῥίνα. ἰδόμενοι δ’ οἱ
 λοιποὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, οἳ ἔτι τὰ ἐκείνου ἐφρόνεον, ἄνδρα
 τὸν δοκιμώτατον ἑωυτῶν οὕτω αἰσχροῶς λῦμῃ διακείμε-
 νον, οὐδένα δὴ χρόνον ἐπισχόντες, ἀπιστέατο πρὸς τοὺς
 163 ἐτέρους, καὶ ἐδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀμάσι. Πυθόμενος
 δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπρίης, ὥπλιζε τοὺς ἐπικούρους, καὶ ἤλαννε
 ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους· εἶχε δὲ περὶ ἑωυτὸν Κάρας τε καὶ
 Ἰωνας, ἄνδρας ἐπικούρους τρισμυρίους· ἦν δέ οἱ τὰ βασι-
 λῆϊα ἐν Σαῖ πόλει, μεγάλα ἐόντα καὶ ἀξιοθέητα. καὶ οἱ
 τε περὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἦσαν, καὶ οἱ περὶ
 τὸν Ἀμασιν, ἐπὶ τοὺς ξείνους. ἐν τε δὴ Μωμέμφι πόλει
 ἐγένοντο ἀμφοτέροι, καὶ πειρήσεσθαι ἔμελλον ἀλλήλων.
 164 Ἔστι δὲ Αἰγυπτίων ἐπτὰ γένεα· καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν,
 ἱερεῖς, οἱ δὲ, μάχιμοι κεκλέαται· οἱ δὲ, βουκόλοι· οἱ δὲ,
 συβῶται· οἱ δὲ, κάπηλοι· οἱ δὲ, ἐρμηνέες· οἱ δὲ,
 κυβερνήται. γένεα μὲν Αἰγυπτίων τοσαῦτά ἐστιν οὐνό-
 ματα δὲ σφί κέεται ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνέων. οἱ δὲ μάχιμοι

αὐτῶν καλέονται μὲν Καλασίριές τε καὶ Ἑρμοτύβιες· ἐκ νομῶν δὲ τῶνδε εἰσὶ· κατὰ γὰρ δὴ νομοὺς Αἴγυπτος ἅπαντα διααίρηται. Ἑρμοτυβίων μὲν οἶδε εἰσὶ νομοί 165 Βουσιρίτης, Σαῖτης, Χεμμίτης, Παπρημίτης, νῆσος ἡ Προσωπίτις καλεομένη, Ναθὼ τὸ ἡμισυ. ἐκ μὲν τούτων τῶν νομῶν Ἑρμοτύβιες εἰσὶ. γενόμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστους γενοίατο, ἑκαίδεκα μυριάδες. καὶ τούτων βαναυσίης οὐδεὶς δεδάηκε οὐδὲν, ἀλλ' ἀνέονται ἐς τὸ μάχιμον. Καλασιρίων δὲ οἶδε ἄλλοι νομοί εἰσιν. Θηβαῖος, Βουβα- 166 στίτης, Ἀφθίτης, Τανίτης, Μενδήσιος, Σεβεννύτης, Ἀθριβίτης, Φαρβαιθίτης, Θμουίτης, Ὀνουφίτης, Ἀνύσιος, Μνεκφορίτης· οὗτος ὁ νομὸς ἐν νήσῳ οἰκίει, ἀντίον Βουβάστιος πόλιος. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ νομοὶ Καλασιρίων εἰσὶ γενόμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστους ἐγενέατο, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν. οὐδὲ τούτοις ἐξέστι τέχνην ἐπασκῆσαι οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἐπασκέουσι μούνα, παῖς παρὰ πατρός ἐκδεκόμενος. Εἰ μὲν νυν καὶ τοῦτο 167 παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθήκασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως κρίναι· ὁρέων καὶ Θρηϊκας καὶ Σκύθας καὶ Πέρσας καὶ Λυδοὺς, καὶ σχεδὸν πάντας τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀποτιμότερους τῶν ἄλλων ἡγημένους πολιητέων τοὺς τὰς τέχνας μαθάνοντας, καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους τούτων· τοὺς δὲ ἀπαλλαγμένους τῶν χειρωναξίων γενναίους νομιζομένους εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνειμένους. μεμαθήκασιν δ' ὧν τοῦτο πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ μάλιστα Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἥκιστα δὲ Κορίνθιοι ὄνουνται τοὺς χειροτέχνας. Γέρεα δὲ σφί ἦν τάδε ἐξαιρημένα μόνουσι 168 Αἰγυπτίων, πάρεξ τῶν ἱρέων· ἄρourke ἐξαίρετοι δυώδεκα ἐκάστῳ ἀτελέες. ἡ δὲ ἄρουρα ἑκατὸν πηχέων ἐστὶ Αἰγυπτίων πάντη. ὁ δὲ Αἰγυπτίος πῆχυς τυγχάνει ἴσος ἐὼν τῷ Σαμίῳ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι ἅπασιν ἦν ἐξαιρημένα. τάδε δὲ ἐν περιτροπῇ ἐκαρποῦντο, καὶ οὐδαμὰ αὐτοί. Καλασιρίων χίλιοι, καὶ Ἑρμοτυβίων ἄλλοι, ἐδορυφόρεον ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστοι τὸν βασιλέα· τοῦτοι δ' ὧν τάδε πάρεξ τῶν ἀρουρέων ἄλλα ἐδίδοδο· ἡμέρη ἐκάστη, ὅπου σίτου σταθμὸς πέντε μνᾶι ἐκάστῳ, κρεῶν βοέων δύο μνᾶι, οἶνου τέσσερες ἀρυστήρες. ταῦτα τοῖσι αἰεὶ δορυφόρεύουσι ἐδίδοδο.

- 169 Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ συνιόντες, ὃ τε Ἀπρίης ἄγων τοὺς ἐπικου-
 ρους, καὶ ὁ Ἀμασις πάντας τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ἀπίκοντο
 ἐς Μώμεφιν πόλιν, συνέβαλον· καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο μὲν εὖ
 οἱ ξεῖνοι, πληθεῖ δὲ πολλῶ ἐλάσσονες ἔοντες, κατὰ τοῦτο
 ἐσώθησαν. Ἀπρίῳ δὲ λέγεται εἶναι ἥδε ἡ διάνοια, μὴδ'
 ἂν θεὸν μιν μηδένα δύνασθαι παῦσαι τῆς βασιληΐης·
 οὕτω ἀσφαλῶς ἑωυτῷ ἰδρῦσθαι ἐδόκεε. καὶ δὴ τότε
 συμβαλὼν ἐσώθη· καὶ ζωγρηθεὶς, ἀπήχθη ἐς Σάϊν πό-
 λιν, ἐς τὰ ἑωυτοῦ οἰκία πρότερον ἔοντα, τότε δὲ Ἀμάσιος
 ἤδη βασιλῆϊα. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τέως μὲν ἐτρέφετο ἐν τοῖσι
 βασιληϊοῖσι, καὶ μιν Ἀμασις εὖ περιεΐπε. τέλος δὲ,
 μεμφομένων Αἰγυπτίων ὡς οὐ ποιοῖ δίκαια, τρέφων τὸν
 σφίσι τε καὶ ἑωυτῷ ἔχθιστον, οὕτω δὴ παραδιδόι τὸν
 Ἀπρίην τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι. οἱ δὲ μιν ἀπέπνιξαν, καὶ
 ἔπειτα ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇσι πατρῶησι ταφῇσι. αἱ δὲ εἰσι ἐν
 τῷ ἱρῷ τῆς Ἀθηναίης, ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ μεγάρου, ἐσιόντι
 ἀριστερῇ χειρὸς. ἔθαψαν δὲ Σαῖται πάντας τοὺς ἐκ
 νομοῦ τούτου γενομένους βασιλέας ἔσω ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ. καὶ
 γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος σῆμα ἐκαστέρῳ μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ μεγάρου
 ἢ τὸ τοῦ Ἀπρίῳ καὶ τῶν τουτοῦ προπατόρων· ἐστὶ
 μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ ἱροῦ, παστὰς λιθίνη με-
 γάλη, καὶ ἡσκημένη στύλοισι τε φοίνικας τὰ δένδρεα με-
 μιμημένοισι, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δαπάνῃ. ἔσω δὲ ἐν τῇ παστάδι
 διξὰ θυρώματα ἔστηκε· ἐν δὲ τοῖσι θυρώμασι ἡ θήκη
- 170 ἐστί. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ ταφαὶ τοῦ οὐκ ὅσιον ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ
 τοιούτῳ πρήγματι ἐξαγορεύειν τοῦνομα ἐν Σάϊ, ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ
 τῆς Ἀθηναίης, ὅπισθε τοῦ νηοῦ, παντὸς τοῦ τῆς Ἀθη-
 ναίης ἐχόμεναι τοίχου. καὶ ἐν τῷ τεμένει ὀβελοὶ ἐστᾶσι
 μεγάλοι λίθινοι· λίμνη τέ ἐστὶ ἐχομένη, λιθίνῃ κρηπιδί
 κεκοσμημένη, καὶ ἐργασμένη εὖ κύκλῳ, καὶ μέγαθος, ὡς
 ἐμοὶ ἐδόκεε, ὅση περ ἢ ἐν Δήλῳ, ἢ τροχοειδὴς καλεομένη.
- 171 Ἐν δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ ταύτῃ τὰ δεικνῆλα τῶν παθένων αὐτοῦ
 νυκτὸς ποιεῦσι, τὰ καλέουσι μυστήρια Αἰγύπτιοι. περὶ
 μὲν νυν τούτων, εἰδότι μοι ἐπὶ πλέον ὥς ἕκαστα αὐτῶν
 ἔχει, εὖστομα κείσθω. καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τελετῆς πέρι,
 τὴν οἱ Ἕλληνες θεσμοφόρια καλέουσι, καὶ ταύτης εἰδότι
 μοι πέρι εὖστομα κείσθω, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς ὁσὶν ἐστὶ
 λέγειν. αἱ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρες ἦσαν αἱ τὴν τελετὴν ταύτην

ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγαγούσαι, καὶ διδάξασαι τὰς Πελασγιώτιδας γυναῖκας. μετὰ δὲ, ἐξαναστάσης πάσης Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Δωριέων, ἐξαπώλετο ἡ τελετή· οἱ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες Πελοποννησίων καὶ οὐκ ἐξαναστάντες Ἀρκάδες, διέσωζον αὐτὴν μύνοι.

Ἀπρίεω δὲ ὧδε καταραιρημένον, ἐβασίλευσε Ἀμασις, 172 νομοῦ μὲν Σαῖτεω ἐὼν· ἐκ τῆς δὲ ἦν πόλις, οὐνομά οἱ ἐστὶ Σιούφ. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα κατόνοντο τὸν Ἀμασιν Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ μοίρῃ μεγάλη ἦγον, ἅτε δὴ δημότην τὸ πρὶν ἐόντα, καὶ οἰκίης οὐκ ἐπιφανέος· μετὰ δὲ, σοφίῃ αὐτοῦς ὁ Ἀμασις, οὐκ ἀγνωμοσύνη προσηγάγετο. ἦν οἱ ἄλλα τε ἀγαθὰ μυρία, ἐν δὲ καὶ ποδανιπτῆρ χρύσεος, ἐν τῷ αὐτός τε ὁ Ἀμασις καὶ οἱ δαιτυμόνες οἱ πάντες τοὺς πόδας ἐκάστοτε ἐναπενιζέατο. τοῦτον κατ' ὦν κόψας, ἄγαλμα δαίμονος ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐποίησατο, καὶ ἵδρυσεν τῆς πόλις ὅκου ἦν ἐπιτηδεώτατον· οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι φοιτούντες πρὸς τῷγαλμα, ἐσέβοντο μεγάλως. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀμασις τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἀστῶν ποιούμενον, συγκαλέσας Αἰγυπτίους, ἐξέφηγε φὰς “ἐκ τοῦ ποδανιπτῆρος τῷγαλμα “γεγονέναι, ἐς τὸν πρότερον μὲν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐνεμεῖν “τε καὶ ἐνουρέειν, καὶ πόδας ἐναπονίζεσθαι, τότε δὲ μεγάλως “σέβεσθαι. ἤδη ὦν, ἔφη λέγων, ὁμοίως αὐτὸς τῷ “ποδανιπτῆρι πεπρηγέται. εἰ γὰρ πρότερον εἶναι δημότης, “ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ παρεόντι εἶναι αὐτῶν βασιλεύς.” καὶ τιμᾶν τε καὶ προμηθέεσθαι ἐωυτοῦ ἐκέλευε. τοιοῦτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ προσηγάγετο τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ὥστε δικαιοῦν δουλεύειν. 173 Ἐχράτο δὲ καταστάσει πρηγμάτων τοιῇδε. τὸ μὲν ὀρθριον, μέχρι ὅτου πληθῶρης ἀγορῆς, προθύμως ἔπρησσε τὰ προσφερόμενα πρήγματα· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἔπινε τε καὶ κατέσκωπτε τοὺς συμπότας, καὶ ἦν μάταιός τε καὶ παιγνιήμων. ἀχθεσθέντες δὲ τούτοις οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ, ἐνουθέτεον αὐτόν, τοιάδε λέγοντες· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὐκ “ὀρθῶς σεωυτοῦ προέστηκας, ἐς τὸ ἀγαν φαῦλον προ- “αγων σεωυτόν. σὲ γὰρ χρῆν ἐν θρόνῳ σεμνῷ σεμνὸν “θωκέοντα, δι' ἡμέρης πρήσσειν τὰ πρήγματα· καὶ οὕτω “Αἰγύπτιοι τ' ἂν ἐπιστέατο ὡς ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου ἄρ- “χονται, καὶ ἄμεινον σὺν ἂν ἤκουες. νῦν δὲ ποίεις οὕδα- “μῶς βασιλικά.” Ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοισίδε αὐτούς· “Τὰ

- “τόξα οἱ κεκτημένοι, ἐπεὰν μὲν δέωνται χρᾶσθαι, ἐντα-
 “νύουσι· ἐπεὰν δὲ χρήσονται, ἐκλύουσι. εἰ γὰρ δὴ
 “τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἐντεταμένα εἴη, ἐκραγεῖν ἂν ὥστε
 “ἐς τὸ δέον οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιεν αὐτοῖσι χρήσθαι. οὕτω δὴ καὶ
 “ἀνθρώπου κατάστασις· εἰ ἐθέλοι κατεσπουδάσθαι αἰεὶ,
 “μηδὲ ἐς παιγνίην τὸ μέρος ἐωυτὸν ἀνιέναι, λάθῃ ἂν ᾗτοι
 “μανεῖς, ἢ ὅγε ἀπόπληκτος γενόμενος. τὰ ἐγὼ ἐπιστά-
 174 “μενος, μέρος ἐκατέρῳ νέμω.” Ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς φίλους
 ἀμείψατο. Λέγεται δὲ ὁ Ἀμασις, καὶ ὅτε ἦν ἰδιώτης, ὡς
 φιλοπότης ἐὼν καὶ φιλοσκώμμων, καὶ οὐδαμῶς κατεσπου-
 δασμένος ἀνὴρ· ὅπως δέ μιν ἐπιλείποι πίνοντά τε καὶ
 εὐπαθέοντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεα, κλέπτεσκε ἂν περιϋών. οἱ δ’
 ἂν μιν φάμενοι ἔχειν τὰ σφέτερα χρήματα ἀρνεύμενον
 ἄγεσκον ἐπὶ μαντήϊον, ὅκου ἐκάστοισι εἴη· πολλὰ μὲν
 δὴ καὶ ἀλίσκετο ὑπὸ τῶν μαντήϊων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπο-
 φεύγεσκε. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ καὶ ἐβασίλευσε, ἐποίηε τοιάδε·
 ὅσοι μὲν αὐτὸν τῶν θεῶν ἀπέλυσαν μὴ φῶρα εἶναι, τού-
 των μὲν τῶν ἱρῶν οὔτε ἐπεμέλετο, οὔτε ἐς ἐπισκευὴν
 ἐδίδου οὐδέν· οὐδὲ φοιτέων ἔθνε, ὡς οὐδενὸς ἐοῦσι ἀξίοισι,
 ψευδέα τε μαντήϊα κεκτημένοισι. ὅσοι δέ μιν κατέδησαν
 φῶρα εἶναι, τούτων δὲ, ὡς ἀληθῶς θεῶν ἐόντων καὶ
 “ψευδέα μαντήϊα παρεχομένων, τὰ μάλιστα ἐπεμέλετο.
 175 Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ἐν Σαῖ τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ προπύλαια θω-
 μάσιά οἱ ἐξεποίησε, πολλὸν πάντας ὑπερβαλλόμενος τῷ
 τε ὕψει καὶ τῷ μεγάλθει, ὅσων τε τὸ μέγαθος λίθων ἐστὶ,
 καὶ ὀκοίων τέων· τοῦτο δὲ, κολοσσούς μεγάλους καὶ
 ἀνδρόσφιγγας περιμήκεας ἀνέθηκε, λίθους τε ἄλλους ἐς
 ἐπισκευὴν ὑπερφυέας τὸ μέγαθος ἐκόμισε. ἡγάγετο δὲ
 τούτων τοὺς μὲν, ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Μέμφιν ἐουσέων λιθοτο-
 μίων· τοὺς δὲ ὑπερμεγάθεις, ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος,
 πλόον καὶ ἐείκοσι ἡμερέων ἀπεχούσης ἀπὸ Σαΐος. τὸ δὲ
 οὐκ ἦκιστα αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα θωυμάζω, ἐστὶ τόδε·
 οἴκημα μουνόλιθον ἐκόμισε ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος· καὶ
 τοῦτο ἐκόμιζον μὲν ἐπ’ ἕτεα τρία, δισχίλιοι δὲ οἱ προσε-
 τετάχατο ἄνδρες ἀγωγέες, καὶ οὗτοι ἅπαντες ἦσαν κυβερ-
 νῆται. τῆς δὲ στέγης ταύτης τὸ μὲν μῆκος ἔξωθεν, ἐστὶ
 εἰς τε καὶ εἴκοσι πῆχες· εὖρος δὲ, τεσσερεσκαίδεκα·
 ὕψος δὲ, ὀκτώ. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ μέτρα ἔξωθεν τῆς στέγης

τῆς μονολίου ἐστὶ· ἀτὰρ ἔσωθεν τὸ μῆκος, ὀκτωκαίδεκα πηχέων καὶ πυγόνος· τὸ δὲ εὖρος, δυώδεκα πηχέων· τὸ δὲ ὕψος, πέντε πηχέων ἐστὶ. αὕτη τοῦ ἱροῦ κέεταί παρὰ τὴν ἔσοδον. ἔσω γάρ μιν ἐς τὸ ἱρόν φασι τῶνδ' εἵνεκα οὐκ ἐσελκύσαι· τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς, ἐλκομένης τῆς στέγης, ἀναστενάξαι, οἷα τε χρόνου ἐκγεγονότος πολλοῦ, καταχθόμενον τῷ ἔργῳ· τὸν δὲ Ἄμασιν ἐνθυμιστὸν ποιησάμενον, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι προσωτέρω ἐλκύσαι. ἤδη δέ τινες λέγουσι, ὡς ἄνθρωπος διεφθάρη ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῶν τις αὐτὴν μοχλευόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου οὐκ ἐσελκυσθῆναι. Ἄνέ- 176
θηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἱροῖσι ὁ Ἄμασις πᾶσι τοῖσι ἐλλογίμοις ἔργα τὸ μέγαθος ἀξιοθέητα· ἐν δὲ, καὶ ἐν Μέμφι, τὸν ὑπτίον κείμενον κολοσσόν, τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου ἔμπροσθε· τοῦ πόδες πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα εἰσι τὸ μῆκος. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ βάθρῳ ἐστᾶσι, Αἰθιοπικοῦ ἑόντος λίθου, δύο κολοσσοί, ἑείκοσι ποδῶν τὸ μέγαθος ἑὼν ἑκάτερος· ὁ μὲν ἔνθεν, ὁ δ' ἔνθεν τοῦ μεγάρου. ἔστι δὲ λίθινος ἕτερος τοσοῦτος καὶ ἐν Σάϊ, κείμενος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῷ ἐν Μέμφι. τῇ Ἰσι τε τὸ ἐν Μέμφι ἱρόν Ἄμασις ἐστὶ ὁ ἐξοικοδομήσας, ἐὼν μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιοθεητότατον.

Ἐπ' Ἀμάσιος δὲ βασιλέος λέγεται Αἴγυπτος μάλιστα 177
διὴ τότε εὐδαιμονῆσαι, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ χώρῃ γινόμενα, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι. καὶ πόλις ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι τὰς ἀπάσας τότε δισμυρίας τὰς οἰκεομένας. νόμον δὲ Αἰγυπτίοις τόνδε Ἄμασις ἐστὶ ὁ καταστήσας· ἀποδεικνύναι ἕτεος ἐκάστου τῷ νομάρχῃ πάντα τινὰ Αἰγυπτίων, ὅθεν βιοῦται· μὴ δὲ ποιεῖν ταῦτα, μηδὲ ἀποφαίνοντα δικαίην ζῶν, ἰθύνεσθαι θανάτῳ. Σόλων δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος λαβὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τούτου τὸν νόμον, Ἀθηναίοις ἔθετο· τῷ ἐκείνοι ἐς αἰεὶ χρέωνται, ἔοντι ἀμώμῳ νόμῳ. Φιλέλλην δὲ γενόμενος ὁ Ἄμασις, 178
ἄλλα τε ἐς Ἑλλήνων μετεξετέρους ἀπεδέξατο, καὶ διὰ καὶ τοῖσι ἀπικνευμένοις ἐς Αἰγυπτον ἔδωκε Ναύκρατιν πόλιν ἐνοικῆσαι· τοῖσι δὲ μὴ βουλομένοις αὐτῶν οἰκέειν, αὐτοῦ δὲ ναυτιλλομένοις, ἔδωκε χώρους ἐνιδρύσασθαι βωμοὺς καὶ τεμένεα θεοῖσι. τὸ μὲν νυν μέγιστον αὐτῶν τέμενος, καὶ οὐνομαστότατον ἐὼν καὶ χρησιμώτατον, κα-

- λεύμενον δὲ Ἑλλήνιον, αἶδε πόλις εἰσὶ αἱ ἰδρυμέναι κοινῇ,
 Ἰώνων μὲν, Χίος, καὶ Τέως, καὶ Φώκαια, καὶ Κλαζομεναί·
 Δωριέων δὲ, Ῥόδος, καὶ Κνίδος, καὶ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦς, καὶ
 Φάσηλις· Αἰολέων δὲ, ἡ Μυτιληναίων μούνη. τούτων
 μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦτο τὸ τέμενος, καὶ προστάτας τοῦ ἐμπορίου
 αὐταὶ αἱ πόλις εἰσὶ αἱ παρέχουσαι. ὅσαι δὲ ἄλλαι πόλις
 μεταποιεῦνται, οὐδὲν σφί μετεὸν μεταποιεῦνται. χωρὶς
 δὲ, Αἰγινῆται ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν ἰδρύσαντο τέμενος Διός· καὶ
 179 ἄλλο Σάμιοι, Ἡρησὶ καὶ Μιλήσιοι, Ἀπόλλωνος. Ἦν
 δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν μούνη ἡ Ναύκρατις ἐμπόριον, καὶ ἄλλο
 οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτου. εἰ δέ τις ἐς τῶν τι ἄλλο στομάτων τοῦ
 Νείλου ἀπίκοιτο, χρῆν ὁμόσαι “μὴ μὲν ἐκόντα ἐλθεῖν”
 ἀπομόσαντα δὲ, τῇ νηὶ αὐτῇ πλέειν ἐς τὸ Κανωβικόν
 ἢ εἰ μὴ γε οἶα τε εἴη πρὸς ἀνέμους ἀντίους πλέειν, τὰ
 φορτία ἔδεε περιάγειν ἐν βάρισι περὶ τὸ Δέλτα, μέχρι οὐ
 ἀπίκοιτο ἐς Ναύκρατιν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ Ναύκρατις ἐτετί-
 180 μητο. Ἀμφικτυόνων δὲ μισθωσάντων τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι
 νῦν ὄντα νηὸν τριηκοσίων ταλάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι· (ὁ
 γὰρ πρότερον ἐὼν αὐτόθι αὐτομάτως κατεκάη· τοὺς Δελ-
 φοὺς δὲ ἐπέβαλλε τεταρτημόριον τοῦ μισθώματος παρα-
 σχεῖν)· πλανώμενοι δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ περὶ τὰς πόλις, ἔδω-
 τίναζον· ποιεῦντες δὲ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου
 ἐνείκοντο. Ἀμασις μὲν γάρ σφί ἔδωκε χίλια στυπτη-
 ρίης τάλαντα· οἱ δὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκέοντες Ἕλληνες,
 εἴκοσι μνέας.
- 181 Κυρηναίοισι δὲ Ἀμασις φιλότητά τε καὶ συμμαχίην
 συνεθήκατο. ἐδικαίωσε δὲ καὶ γῆμαι αὐτόθεν, εἴτ' ἐπι-
 θυμήσας Ἑλληνίδος γυναικὸς, εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως φιλότητος
 Κυρηναίων εἶνεκα. γαμέει δ' ὦν, οἱ μὲν λέγουσι Βάττω,
- οἱ δ' Ἀρκεσίλειω θυγατέρα, οἱ δὲ, Κριτοβούλου, ἀνδρὸς
 τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμου· τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Λαδίκη. τῇ ἐπεὶ τε
 συγκλίνοιτο ὁ Ἀμασις, μίσγεσθαι οὐκ οἶός τε ἐγένετο·
 τῇσι δὲ ἄλλησι γυναιξὶ ἐχράτο. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ πολλὸν
 τοῦτο ἐγένετο, εἶπε ὁ Ἀμασις πρὸς τὴν Λαδίκην ταύτην
 καλεομένην “ὦ γύναι, κατὰ με ἐφάρμαξας, καὶ “ἔστι
 “τοι οὐδεμία μνηχανὴ μὴ οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι κάκιστα γυναι-
 “κέων πασέων.” Ἡ δὲ Λαδίκη, ἐπεὶ τέ οἱ ἀρνευμένη
 οὐδὲν ἐγένετο πρηύτερος ὁ Ἀμασις, εὐχεται ἐν τῷ νόῳ τῇ

Ἀφροδίτῃ, ἣν οἱ ὑπ' ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα μιχθῇ ὁ Ἀμασις, τοῦτο γὰρ οἱ κακοῦ εἶναι μῆχος, ἄγαλμά οἱ ἀποπέμψειν ἐς Κυρήνην. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν αὐτίκα οἱ ἐμίχθη ὁ Ἀμασις· καὶ τὸ ἐνθεύτεν ἤδη, ὁκότε ἔλθοι πρὸς αὐτήν, ἐμίσηγετο· καὶ κάρτα μιν ἔστερξε μετὰ τοῦτο. ἡ δὲ Λαδίκη ἀπέδωκε τὴν εὐχὴν τῇ θεῷ. ποιησαμένη γὰρ ἄγαλμα ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Κυρήνην, τὸ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν σόον, ἔξω ἰδρυμένον τοῦ Κυρηναίων ἄστεος. ταύτην τὴν Λαδίκην, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε Καμβύσης Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτῆς ἢ τις εἶη, ἀπέπεμψε ἀσινέα ἐς Κυρήνην.

Ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἀναθήματα ὁ Ἀμασις ἐς τὴν Ἑλ- 182
λάδα· τοῦτο μὲν, ἐς Κυρήνην ἄγαλμα ἐπίχρυσον Ἀθηναίης, καὶ εἰκόνα ἑωυτοῦ γραφῇ εἰκασμένην· τοῦτο δὲ, τῇ ἐν Λίνδῳ Ἀθηναίῃ δύο τε ἀγάλματα λίθινα, καὶ θώρηκα λίνεον ἀξιοθέητον· τοῦτο δ', ἐς Σάμον τῇ Ἡρῇ εἰκόνας ἑωυτοῦ διφασίας ξυλίνας, αἱ ἐν τῷ νηῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἰδρύατο ἔτι καὶ τὸ μέχρις ἐμεῦ, ὅπισθε τῶν θυρέων. ἐς μὲν νυν Σάμον ἀνέθηκε κατὰ ξεινίην τὴν ἑωυτοῦ τε καὶ Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Αἰάκεος· ἐς δὲ Λίνδον, ξεινίης μὲν οὐδεμιῆς εἵνεκεν, ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Λίνδῳ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίης λέγεται τὰς τοῦ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρας ἰδρύσασθαι προσχούσας, ὅτε ἀπεδίδρησκον τοὺς Αἰγύπτου παῖδας. ταῦτα μὲν ἀνέθηκε ὁ Ἀμασις. Εἶλε δὲ Κύπρον πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων, καὶ κατεστρέψατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν.

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ Β.



NOTES.

I. CLIO.

Ἀλικαρνησῆος. In the *Rhet.* III. 9, Aristotle quotes him as “the Thurian,” probably because the work was chiefly composed at Thurium, and in the *dialect* of that his adopted country (see Preface).

ιστορίας ἀπόδειξις ἦδε=“what follows is the setting-forth of the *researches*,” not *history* (a sense *ιστορία* does not bear in Herodotus). ἀπόδειξις=Attic ἀποδείξις.

τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων. Herodotus often uses ἐξ or ἐκ for ὑπό. Thucydides does the same, I. 160, III. 48, VII. 175.

βαρβάρουσι. The Greeks applied this term to all who did not speak their language; it was analogous to our word “foreigners.” **θωυμαστά** (Ionic)=**θαυμαστά** (Attic)=“marvellous.”

τά τε ἄλλα, κ.τ.λ.=“and especially through what cause they made war upon each other.” This is more fully stated in Bk. v. 97. Observe the formula **τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ** is literally=“and (in mentioning) *all the other* (matters, I will mention) *also*.”

1. How the feud began between Greece and the East, according to the Persians.

οἱ λόγιοι=“the story-tellers.” This word, with its cognates, is chiefly used by Herod. to express narration by *word of mouth*. See Bk. II. 3, and 77.

Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης=“The Red Sea,” i.e. the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf: so called from the *red* reflection of the *porphyry* rocks along the coasts. What we call the Red Sea is called by Herod. the *Arabian Gulf*.

τῇδε τὴν θάλασσαν,—a common expression for the *Mediterranean Sea*; compare the Latin expression for the same sea, “*nostrum mare*,” or “*mare magnum*.” The Greeks sometimes vary their phrase to *ἡ παρ’ ἡμῶν θάλασσα*. For the migration of the Phœnicians, see Bk. VII. 89. Rawlinson well observes on this passage, “Everything indicates a spread of the Semites from Babylonia westward, while nothing appears of any movement in the opposite direction. The name ‘Phœnician,’ which connects with ‘Erythræan,’ both meaning ‘red,’ the colour of the Semites, confirms the general connexion, but does not show in which way the migration proceeded.”

τοῦτον τὸν χώρον τὸν (=δυνπερ). Here, as elsewhere in Herodotus, the article is partly *demonstrative*, and partly *relative*, after the *Homeric* usage.

αὐτίκα ναυτιλήσι, κ.τ.λ. = "forthwith applied themselves to (literally, *set themselves upon*) long voyages."

φορτία Αἰγύπτια. See Ezekiel xxvii. 7. ἀπαγνώστας = "bringing from a distance."

ἐσαπικνέσθαι = Lat. "*pervenire*," generally "of making *one's way* to a place (through dangers or difficulties)."

καὶ δὴ καὶ = "and now (observe), even," an elliptical emphatic expression; supply ἰδὲ, ὅρα, or some such word. δῆ = ἡδὴ abbreviated.

Ἄργος. See Thucyd. i. 9, 10. The oldest city in Greece. According to Bp Thirlwall the word meant "*plain*" in the old Pelasgian tongue: some make it = Lat. "*ager*." It seems, however, closely connected with the common Greek root *argy-* (whence ἄργος, ἄργυρος, κ.τ.λ. = "*silvery*," "*bright*," thus = *Bright-town* (Brighton). The same root is found in *Argocus* (the summit of which, according to Strabo, was covered with perpetual snow), Arganthonius, Argarius, and many other names of places, remarkable for their *bright*, glaring appearance in the distance. Compare Homer's ἄργυροπόδες = "*sparkling-footed*," as applied to Thetis, drawn from the *sparkle* of the waves under *moonlight* or *sunlight*; this will apply to the root *arg*, when connected with *water-localities*.

ἄπασι. According to Jelf, the *instrumental dative*, in prose, of that in which one thing surpasses another.

τῇ νῦν Ἑλλάδι. In Herodotus's time Hellas was the *national* name for all Greece: according to Homer, it was, in the Heroic age, the name of a small district in Thessaly. Compare Thucyd. i. 2, ἡ νῦν Ἑλλὰς καλουμένη.

διατίθεσθαι = "to dispose of for *their own profit*." Observe one of the forces of the middle voice here.

Ἴοῦν τὴν Ἰνᾶχον. The ancients believed Io to be the moon, and there is a distinct tradition that the Argives called the moon Io. (See Suidas and Hesychius under Ἰώ.) The various stories related of her symbolize the phases and phenomena of the *moon*, and are closely connected with the worship of Zeus and Hera at Argos: afterwards the attempt was made to assimilate the Argive Io to the Egyptian Isis. According to Rawlinson, the Egyptian title of the moon was Yah (= "Io"), and the primitive Chaldean title was represented by a cuneiform sign, which is phonetically At, as in modern Turkish.

στάσας = "having stood." In Ionic and Attic Greek many verbs are *transitive* in aor. 1 and perfect 1, but *intransitive* in aor. 2 and perfect 2. As aor. 1, ἐστήσα = "I placed;" aor. 2, ἐστην = "I stood." Perfect 1, ἐφθάρκα = "I destroyed;" perfect 2, ἐφθορα = "I was destroyed."

πρόμνην τῆς νεὸς = "the stern of the vessel" (was *nearest* the land).

ὠνέσθαι τῶν φορτίων, κ.τ.λ. = "were purchasing *some of those* wares, for which (the *objective genitive*) they had a very great desire." Here the former genitive is *partitive*; and θυμὸς = ἐπιθυμία.

τὰς πλεῖνας = "the majority," like οἱ πολλοί.

ἐσβαλομένους δὲ ἐς τὴν νέαν—"having thrown themselves with all speed into their ship." The verb is aor. 2, mid. and the article is generally possessive with a mid. verb.

οἰχέσθαι ἀποπλέοντας ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου="they were off, sailing away, towards Egypt." Mark the force of ἐπὶ with genitive after a verb of motion.

2. The Greeks retaliate by carrying off Europa.

οὐκ ὡς Φοίνικες. Here Bähr, Matthiæ, Schæfer, give this reading, and not Ἕλληνες, with Gaisford. Rawlinson too is against Gaisford's reading. On the subject of Io, Herodotus records only two opinions, that of the Persians, and that of the Phœnicians: in Cap. v. he says, ταῦτα μὲν νυν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοίνικες λέγουσι.

ἀδίκημάτων=Lat. "injuriarum"="acts of injustice;" what he calls in Chap. v. ἀδίκων ἔργων.

οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι="have it not (in their power)," i.e. cannot. So in Homer (*Odys.* xviii. 363) we have ἔχω with the infinitive as here. Compare the Lat. "habeo polliceri"="I have it in my power, and so can promise." Cic. *Fam. Ep.* i. 4.

προσχόντας: supply τὴν νέαν="putting to their ship."

εἶησαν δ' ἂν οὗτοι Κρήτες="and these might possibly be Cretans." The early naval power of Crete (now *Candia*) is noticed by Thucyd. i. 4. Their cheating and lying are mentioned by St Paul, Tit. i. 12, and by Homer throughout the *Odyssey*. For the Hellenic legend of Europa, see IV. 45.

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἴσα, κ.τ.λ.= "and that these things happened to them (in the way of) like for like." Compare the Lat. "par pari referri."

μακρῇ νητ=Lat. "nave longâ," "in a war-galley." The round vessels were ships of burden and merchantmen: hence we may guess the hostile intentions of these pirates.

Αἶδν τε τὴν Κολχίδα—now "Mingrelia." Colchis is not mentioned either by Homer or Hesiod.

ἀπικατο (Ionic)=ἀφ' ἡμετέρων ἦσαν.

ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν θυγατέρα. Compare the parody of Aristophanes (*Acharn.* 488—494), in which he ironically accounts for the Peloponnesian war after this manner.

τὸν Κόλχον="the Colchian" (king). The head of a despotic government is thus made to represent the whole nation. Compare ὁ Μακεδὼν, ὁ Λυδὸς, ὁ Περσὴς, κ.τ.λ.

δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς="satisfaction for the rape"—an objective genitive.

τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι="now those pretended, by way of an answer, that." In this way I would connect this remarkable word with its fully developed Attic sense of "acting a part on the stage:" it is here evidently in its transition state, the notion of dissimulation as well as simulation being implied in ὑπό. See Herod. i. 90.

3. Retaliation of Alexander (Paris) by carrying off Helen.

γενεῇ. Herodotus generally calculates the generation at about 33 years, II. 142, γενεαὶ γὰρ τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν ἔτιδ' ἔσσι. Müller supposes the interval between the Argonautic expedition and the Trojan war to have been 40 years.

ἐθελῆσαι = "resolved," stronger than βούλεσθαι = "to wish" or "prefer." Compare the English "would," expressive of strong resolution.

οὕτω δὴ = "it was *precisely* thus." δὴ makes a definite particle still more definite, and an indefinite one still more indefinite.

τοῖσι Ἕλλησι...πέμψαντας. Herodotus makes the *accusative* of the corresponding participle, in these constructions, more usual than the *dative*. See I. 19.

ἀπαιτεῖν = "to demand *back*," Lat. "repetere."

τοὺς δὲ, προῖσχομένων ταῦτα, κ.τ.λ. = "and that they (the Trojans), when the Greeks kept alleging these matters, threw in their teeth the rape of Medea, and how (the Greeks), though neither themselves giving satisfaction, nor giving up (Medea) when demanded back, (yet) could wish to receive satisfaction from others." With προῖσχομένων supply τῶν ἀγγέλων; the *genitive* absolute is here used instead of a *dative*. An anacolouthon Herodotus is especially fond of. Observe also the *iterative* and *intensive* form of ἔχω in προῖσχομένων, literally = "continually and vehemently holding forth." προφέρειν = Lat. "objicere."

4. This abduction of Helen is retaliated by the Trojan war.

τὸ μὲν νῦν ἀρπάζειν. Here we may fairly trace the rudiments of the Sophistical reasoning.

τὸ δὲ ἀρπασθεισέων σπουδῇν, κ.τ.λ. = "now, when women have been carried off, to consider it one's serious business to avenge them, is the action of fools."

ᾤρην = "care," regard for anything: hence πολυρρεῖν and ὀλιγρρεῖν.

δύναμιν κατελεῖν = "to pull down the power," Lat. "deripere."

καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν—supply ἔθνος. Europe and Asia are thus opposed to each other, as Greek and Barbarian. This pride of the Greeks sprang from their success in the Persian war. Formerly the Asiatic Greeks were superior to their kinsmen in Europe (see IX. 116, and Æsch. *Persæ*, 176—196, and Thucyd. I. 1).

οἰκειούνται = "consider as belonging to their *family* or *house*" (mid.).

ἡγήνται = not "they thought," but = "they believed" (as a leading principle or conviction).

κεχωρίσθαι = "have been and *continue to be* separated."

5. A different legend of Io, told by the Phœnicians.

ἐμαθεν ἔγκυος εὐόσα = "she learned she was pregnant." This construction is very common in Greek, by which a verb stating a *fact* is

thrown into a *participial* form, while the verb stating the *impression*, *opinion*, or *sense*, or general *consequence* produced by that fact upon the *mind*, is retained in its purely *verbal* form: this may be accounted for by attempting to follow the *order of time*, and thus stating *first* that which occurred *first*. Thus we have ἤδew τοὺς παῖδας θνητοὺς γεννήσας = "I was aware that I had begotten mortal children;" χαίρω ποιεῖν = "I am delighted to do:" but χαίρω ποιῶν = "I am delighted that I am doing" = "I am doing, and therefore my mind is impressed with delight." Compare also I. 9, μαθεῖν ὀφθεῖσαν; I. 44, ἐλάνθανε βόσκων.

τοῖσι Φοῖνιξι συνεκπλωσai = "sailed out in company with the Phœnicians."

κατάδηλος = "thoroughly exposed," put to open shame: often the force of κατά in compounds, like the Lat. "*per*" and English "*down-right*."

ἐρχομαι ἐρέων = "I am going to speak." Compare the French "*je vais dire*," and also the "*iri*" (from "*eo*" = "*to go*") of *passive* Latin verbs in the future infinitive; and observe that ἐρέων is always *future* in sense. See II. 35, and I. 194. In the same way we can connect μέλλω = "that which is going to be," with μολεῖν = "to go."

πρῶτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων, κ.τ.λ. See Bk. II. 69, and VII. 11.

τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ ἦν μεγάλα = "and those cities that were great in my time." Such is the force of ἐπὶ with a personal pronoun or noun denoting a person in the genitive case.

οὐδαμὰ ἐν τῶντῳ μένουσαν = "never remains in the same (stay)."

6. Cræsus the first barbarian despot who subdued Hellenes.

Λυδὸς μὲν γένος = "a Lydian by birth," the accusative of *closer* definition; no need to supply κατά.

τύραννος (a dialectic form of κοίρανος). The Greek notion of a tyrant was "one who ruled, without a *right* to rule, according to the *constitution* of the state." Our notion is "one who *abuses* power for his own purposes," whether he has a right to the use of it or not. Peisistratus made the best and most legitimate use of his power as a ruler, yet, as he had no constitutional right, was to the Greeks a tyrant.

τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλως ποταμοῦ. This tallies well with what he says, Chap. 72, σχεδὸν πάντα τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ κάτω ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς ἀντίον Κύπρου ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνων πόντον. This use of ἐντὸς is evidently an *Asiatic* form of expression, and used with reference to the coast of Asia Minor; just as *Cisalpine* was Italian. The Halys, now "*Kizil-Ermah*," had two branches, Eastern and Southern,—here the latter is meant. Rawlinson translates the passage: "was lord of all the nations to the west of the river Halys." Observe that generally the name of the river precedes ποταμός; the reason of this seems to be that the proper name was originally an *adjective*, with a substantive at times understood, as in ἐπὶ Φάσῳ ποταμὸν in Chap. 2, above: the full expression requires an article, as ὁ Ἄλως ποταμός.

Σύρων = "the Cappadocians." See I. 72, V. 49, VII. 72.

πρῶτος κατεστρέψατο = "was the first man (among the barbarians) who turned upside down for himself," i.e. *subjugated to himself*. Mark the personal force of πρῶτος = Lat. "primus," used in the same way with verbs: πρῶτον would imply that he did this before he did anything else, not that he was the first so to do.

Κιμμερίων στράτευμα. The invasion of the Cimmerians (Kymry) took place in the reign of Ardys, king of Lydia. See I. 15, IV. 12.

7. The Lydian dynasties, how founded.

περιήλθε (pregnant = περιήλθε καὶ ἀπικται ἐς. See I. 129) = "came round to."

τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Μυρσίλον ὀνομάζουσι. According to the Greek myths this means that Myrsilus and Candaules correspond to each other.

πρότερον Μῶν καλεόμενος. Thus we find in Homer the Lydians called Mæonians, their original name.

ἐπιτραφέντες = "having been entrusted with." Thus, in Thucyd. I. 126, οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτετραμμένοι τὴν φυλακὴν. The accusative of closer definition.

ἔσχον = "got at once," i.e. *obtained* (force of the aorist). εἶχον, the imperfect, would imply "they continued to hold," or "used to hold" it.

8. The foolish and wicked exhibition of his wife by Candaules.

ὑπερίθεο κ.τ.λ. = "was in the habit of making over to him the most important part of his business." Observe the force of the imperfect as well as the composition and middle voice of the verb. From Homer it is clear that τίθημι meant to make as well as to place.

χρὴν γὰρ = "for it was fated." In this signification Herodotus more generally uses ἔδεε. See II. 161, IV. 79, V. 92, VI. 64, VIII. 53.

ἄτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι, κ.τ.λ. So Horace in his *Ars Poet.* :

"Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures."

πολεε δκως = Lat. "fac ut" = "take care that" = "make it your business that."

ἀμβώσας. The Ionic form of ἀναβοήσας. See I. 10, III. 38.

λέγω λόγον = "I speak this speech." The accusative of the cognate word. In Homer and Herodotus we have abundant examples of the verb with its cognate notion or cognate word: this construction gives strength and clearness to language, and is of very frequent occurrence in our old chronicles and poetry, where we are always meeting such expressions as "die the death," "vow the vow," &c.

οὐκ ὑγίεια. Compare Soph. *Phil.* 994 :

ὦ μηδὲν ὑγιές μηδ' ἐλεύθερον φρονῶν.

ἄμα δὲ κιθῶνι ἐκδυομένη, κ.τ.λ. = "for when a woman strips off from her her under garment, she strips off along with it her modesty also."

καὶ σοε δέομαι μὴ δέεσθαι ἀνόμων = "and I require of thee not to require unlawful things." The verb δέομαι is generally = "to have need of."

9. How the queen of Candaules was exposed to view.

ἀπεμάχετο = "continued to fight *shy of it*," literally, "to fight off" (a thing). Force of imperfect.

μὴ τι οἶ—γένηται κακὸν = "lest some calamity should soon happen to him." Observe the *subjunctive* with the *probability*; if it were merely possible, we should have had the *optative*: observe also the aorist.

ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἐγώ, κ.τ.λ. = "for, to start with, I will thus contrive (the matter)."

θρόνος = "a seat of honour" (and so often a throne) used by personages of exalted rank. It was properly a high-backed arm-chair, provided with a foot-stool.

κατὰ ἓν ἕκαστον = "one by one" (distributively).

κατ' ἡσυχίην πολλήν = "quite at your ease."

θεήσασθαι, not merely = "to see," but = "to watch" = "to observe."

κατὰ ὥσπου = "behind her back." See I. 75, and Thucyd. III. 108, αὐτοῖς κατὰ ὥσπου προσπίπτουσι.

διὰ θυρῶν. The plural here shows that there was not a single door, but one with two valves, i.e. folding-doors.

10. The exposing of the person of the Queen.

ἐτοίμος = the Attic ἔτοιμος = "prepared," "ready."

καὶ ἄνδρα ὀφθῆναι, κ.τ.λ. The argument is here à fortiori = "even for a man to be seen naked brings him into great disgrace" (*much more then for a woman*). From Thucydides, Bk. I. 6, we learn that it was but recently that the Greeks exhibited the naked person at their games, wearing formerly drawers. Homer, however, with true heroic simplicity, not only tells us of female servants who assisted men at the bath, but even of young girls of the highest rank bathing and anointing men, as in the case of Polycarte, Helen, and even the Goddess Circe. See *Odys.* III. 468, IV. 252, X. 361; see also Plato's *Rep.* V. 452.

The name of the wife of Candaules was Mysia.

11. The Queen conspires to murder Candaules.

οὕτως = "just as she was."

ἡσυχίην εἶχε = "kept quiet."

τῶν οἰκετῶν τοῦς μάλιστα, κ.τ.λ. = "of those domestics whom she saw to be really most attached to her person."

βασιλεία = "the Queen," but βασιλεῖα = "the kingdom."

ὥς ἂν μὴ, πάντα πειθόμενος, κ.τ.λ. = "to prevent the chance of your seeing for the future the things you should not see, obeying Candaules in all matters as you do."

ὁ δὲ Γίγης *τέως μὲν ἀπεθόλμαζε*, κ.τ.λ. = "now Gyges for a little time continued *lost in wonder* at the things said (by the Queen)."

μή μιν ἀναγκάζη ἐνδεῖν = "not to bind down to the necessity" (of coming to a decision on such a choice). The notion of *binding* by any force, *figuratively*, was a favourite one among the ancients. See Homer, *Il.* II. 110: Ζεὺς με μέγα Κρονίδης ἀτῆ ἐνέδησε βαρεῖη; and Pindar, *Pyth.* IV. 125: τίς δὲ κίνδυνος κρατεροῖς ἀδάμαντος δῆσεν ἄλοις;

ἢ αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἄλλων ἀπόλλυσθαι, κ.τ.λ. Here properly we should have οὐ πείθων δέ, ἀλλ' ὑμῶν—αἰρέεται. According to Self, it is a peculiarity in Herodotus that when he wishes to express a *negative* notion he prefixes it co-ordinately with οὐκων (= οὐκουν, Attic) to the consequences which result from it, while the sentence expressing those consequences is not connected by any particle.

φέρε, ἀκούσω = "bear with me, and let me *now* hear." Aor. I, subjunctive. Mark the force of the aorist, which in non-indicative moods denotes the *speedy* and *immediate* occurrence of events, actions, &c. signified by the verb. It exactly corresponds to the ordinary Irish expression, "to be *after*," joined to a verb, as here, ἀκούσω = "let me be *after* hearing," i.e. let me hear so quickly, that I may be said to *have heard* it. This is one of the many idioms common to Greek and Irish which support the theory of the Milesian origin of the latter. Compare the English expression "begone."

ὅθεν περ = "precisely whence." (περ is emphatic.)

12. The murder of Candaules.

ἐγχειρίδιον = Lat. "pugio," a small dagger, or dirk, made of bronze; literally = "a *little* (thing) (to fit) *into the hand*."

ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν θύρην = "under *shelter* of the same door."

ὑπεσφύς = "gently stealing *into*" (the chamber). Such is often the force of ὑπὸ in composition, like Lat. "sub."

Ἀρχιλοχὸς ὁ Πάριος...ἐπεμνήσθη. Found in Arist. *Rhet.* III. 17: οὐ μοι τὰ Γύγῃ τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει. Plato, in the *Republic*, Bk. II., tells us that Gyges became King by finding a magic ring which rendered him invisible, and by it he murdered the King and took possession of his kingdom and Queen.

13. The Oracle of Delphi sanctions the reign of the Mermnadæ.

ἐποιοῦντο (mid. voice) = "considered."

ἀποδοῦναι = "restore," give away back, *active*: in the middle voice = "to *sell*," i.e. to give away for *one's own advantage*.

τίσις ἦξει. See Chap. 91.

λόγων οὐδένα ἐποιοῦντο = "went on making no account of (this declaration)." Mid. and imperfect.

ἐπετελέσθη = "subsequently accomplished." This is often the force of ἐπὶ in composition.

14. Gyges makes offerings to Delphi.

οὕτω ἔσχον. Not="thus held," but exactly our common phrase="thus got hold of." Aor. 2. of ἔχω. See on 1, 2.

ἀναθήματα=Lat. "donaria"="offerings to the God" *laid up* or *suspended* to view in their temples. Another form of this word is ἀνθήμα=Lat. "sacer," in its *bad* sense (sacer Dis inferis); or the English term "*devoted*" (in a bad sense, to God's *anger*, or to *destruction*); or the Bible expression, "accursed to the Lord" (Josh. vi. 17). The whole of this perplexed passage may be thus rendered: "Now Gyges, when he became sovereign, sent away offerings to Delphi that were not few (in number). On the contrary, of all the silver offerings at Delphi the most of them belong to him; and, beside and beyond the silver, he presented an enormous quantity of gold, both other gold and that which more especially deserves mention; there are laid up (there) golden mixing-bowls of his, six in number, and these stand in the treasury of the Corinthians, having thirty talents as their weight."

ἐς τὸν προκατίζων ἐδίκασε="that (royal seat) on which he *used* to sit in front (of the city gates) and administer justice." From the Bible, and many other sources, we learn that it was customary for the eastern monarchs to sit for this purpose at the city gates.

ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπωνυμίην="a name founded upon (the name) of the offerer."

ἐσέβαλε στρατιὴν ἐς Μίλητον="dashed his army into Miletus (territory)," i.e. made an expedition against the territory of Miletus. ποο-βάλλω="to dash at," and so="to attack."

ἀλλὰ γὰρ=ἀλλὰ ἐπεὶ. The whole passage may be thus rendered: "but since no other great deed was done by him, during a reign of forty years wanting two, we will pass the King by, having recorded so much (about him)."

15. The Cimmerian invasion.

οὗτος δὲ Πριηνέας εἶλε. Grote observes (Vol. III. p. 301), "This possession cannot have been maintained, for the city appears afterwards as autonomous." Rawlinson denies this, and on good grounds: he is supported by *Dic. of Geog.* of Dr Smith.

Κιμμέριοι. According to Strabo, this invasion happened in Homer's time, or before it.

ἡθέων="usual haunts," from ἥθος (1)="usual place of abode;" (2)="habit," manner, custom. Compare the English similar words in their connexion: "*habit, habitation, haunt, holding*;" the Greek ἔξις; Latin, "*habitus, and habito, habeo*."

ἐξαναστάντες="made to get up and go out from." Observe that verbs of a *passive* signification are followed by ὑπὸ with a genitive, just as much as if they were also *passive* in form.

16. The reigns of Sadyattes and Halyattes.

ἐξεδέξατο = Lat. "exceptit (regnum)" = "succeeded to the (kingdom)."

ἐβασίλευσεν ἔρεα δώδεκα = "he reigned (during) twelve years." Observe the accusative of *duration*, which is more properly defined with the preposition διὰ, as in Lat. by "per" with the *accusative*.

Κυαξάρη. See Chaps. 73 and 74.

ἔργα τὰδε = "actions which follow." ταῦτα would refer to what goes before.

οὐκ ὥς ἦθελε—an euphemism or litotes. See I. 32, and Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 86: "sed non et venisse volent."

17. The exploits of Halyattes.

(ὑπὸ) αὐλοῦ γυναικίου τε καὶ ἀνδρηίου = " (marched to the sound) of the female and male pipe." According to Gellius = "the pipe played by females and males." Some say αὐλὸς ἀνδρ. = Lat. "tibia dextra," played with the "right hand," and so *bass*; αὐλὸς γυν. = Lat. "tibia sinistra," played with the left hand, and so *treble*, like a woman's voice. Observe the force of the imperfects in this chapter, denoting the *continuance* of action. We may account for ὑπὸ here with a genitive of *locality*, as the music rises above the marching army.

ὥς ἀπικοιτο = "as often as he might come." Here we have the optative of *indefinite frequency*. This occurs whenever, after a principal verb in a past tense, the thing denoted is not what *did really* occur in some special case, but what happened to recur as often as such a case came into existence; here the optative is used after *relatives* or conjunctions of time, as ὅποτε. The indicative would mark a particular and special case.

τῆς γὰρ θαλάσσης οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἐπεκράτεον. We must remember that the Milesians were *Carians* by extraction, and this will account for their maritime superiority. Miletus is said too to have had a hundred colonies, chiefly on the coast, or in islands. See also Bk. II. 178.

ὥστε ἐπέδρης μὴ εἶναι, κ.τ.λ. = "so that there was no use in his army's besieging it;" literally, "could do nothing by, &c."

σινεσθαι = ἀποφθεῖν, "to bear off."

18. His eleven years' war with Miletus.

ἐτι Λυδῶν ἦρχε = "still continued the ruler of the Lydians." Mark the force of the imperfect. The aor. ἦρξε would = "he became ruler," "succeeded to the power." Compare ἔσχε = "he obtained," εἶχε = "he retained." The force of the imperfect in Greek is for the most part the same as that of the Latin imperfect, and may be rendered, according to the required sense, by (1) *proceeded to*; (2) *went on*, or *continued* (as here); (3) made an *attempt to* (of *incompleted actions*); (4) *was wont to*, or in the *habit of*.

Σαδυάττης γὰρ οὗτος καὶ ὁ τὸν πόλεμον ἦν συνάψας = "for it was this Sadyattes that brought about the war." Rawlinson renders the participle here by "*lighted the flames*" (of war), applying to the compound συνάπτω a sense which it has *no where else*, even if it could be shown to have it here. Again, the simple verb ἄπτειν, in its *unusual* sense of *setting on fire* (by touch or contact), seems limited to a *literal* sense, and is not used *figuratively*, at all events in Herodotus. Compare Æsch. (Ag. 295), ἄπτειν τι πυρὶ, and Herod. VIII. 52, and *infra*, Chap. 19. On the other hand, συνάπτειν μάχην, συνάπτειν πόλεμον = Lat. "conserere manus," are used of "*joining battle*," or "*contracting a war*;" and συνάπτειν is thus capable of the *figurative* sense.

τοῖσι δὲ Μιλησίοισι, κ.τ.λ. = "for none of the Ionians came over (ἐπὶ) to the Milesians, to join them (σύν) in making the war *light* (ἐλαφρόνῳ), except the Chians alone." Observe the force of the *compounds* here, also that ὅτι μὴ, here as elsewhere = εἰ μὴ. Verbs in -ύνω (from *adjectives*) are always *factive*, as βαρύνω (from βαρύς) = "to *make heavy*;" ἐλαφρόνῳ (as here) from ἐλαφρός = "to *make light*."

τὸ ὁμοῖον ἀνταποδιδόντες = "paying off, in *their turn*, a similar (obligation)."

καὶ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον = "for some time before (these events)."

συνδιήνεικαν = "had *aided* them in carrying the war *to an end*." See I. 142. These all belonged to the Ionian confederacy, which celebrated its festival of the Panionia at the temple of the Heliconian Neptune at Mycale.

19. The building of the Temple of Assessian Athenê.

ὥς ἄφθῃ τάχιστα, κ.τ.λ. = "as soon as ever the standing corn (Lat. "*seges*") caught fire, being pressed on by the wind, it (*seized*) and set on fire the temple." See note on συνάψας, Chap. 18.

20. Milesian legend about Periander and Thrasybulus.

Μιλήσιοι δὲ τὰδε προστιθεῖσι τούτοις = "now the Milesians add the following (circumstances) to these (mentioned) before."

τι προειδώς = "with *some* previous intelligence." To take τι with βουλευῆνται seems out of place, and not after the manner of Herodotus, who generally collocates it with the words to which it is related in *signification*. Indeed its *enclitic* power implies as much. See I. 24, εἰ τι λέγοιεν; I. 27, εἰ τι εἶη; I. 31, ἐπειρώτα τίνα δεύτερον; I. 43, τις ἀγγελέων; I. 199, μέγα τι; and especially the very peculiar expressions, I. 51, τῶν τις Δελφῶν, and I. 71, τῶν τις Λυδῶν.

21. The device of Thrasybulus.

ὥς οὖν ταῦτα ἐξαγγέλθη = "when these things were reported to him in detail" = Lat. "*enuntiata erant*." The force of ἐκ in composition with verbs is often (like the Latin "e," "ex") = "*utterly*" (*outerly*), "*fully*," "*out and out*."

σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι = σπένδεσθαι (mid.) = "to *get* a truce made (for himself)." Observe that when ποίεω is used, as here, *periphrastically*,

the *middle voice* is assumed; as ποιείσθαι πόλεμον=πολεμεῖν, ἀναβολὴν ποιείσθαι=ἀναβάλλεσθαι, κ.τ.λ.

χρόνον ὅσον—not ὄν, as πάντα is understood with χρόνον. The rule seems to be, that whenever the notion of *all* is expressed or *understood* (as here) with the *antecedent*, the relative is expressed by ὅσος, making the construction more symmetrical. Compare below, ὅσος ἦν ἐν τῷ ἄσπεϊ σῖτος...τοῦτον πάντα. In the same way, I. 14, ὅσα...πλείστα, ἀναθήματα; I. 199, μέγαθος ἐστὶ ὅσον; III. 52, ζῆμῖν...ὅσην δὴ; II. 170, καὶ μέγαθος...ὅσην περ, κ.τ.λ.

συνκομίσας="having conveyed, at the *same time*." σὺν=Lat. "cum," in composition with verbs implies either (1) "cum tempore," as here, (=contemporary), or (2) "cum aliis," *along with others*.

ἀγορὴν="market-place," where things were brought to be sold (ἄγω), as in Latin "forum" from "fero."

ἐπεὰν αὐτὸς σημήνῃ="whenever he should give the signal." Here ἂν supplies the sense of the Lat. "cunque" to the particle of time, and to harmonise with this *indefinite* notion, the verb is put into the conjunctive (subjunctive) mood. The same construction holds when ἂν is added to relative pronouns, as ὅς ἂν, κ.τ.λ.

κώμῳ χρέεσθαι=Lat. "commessatione uti"="indulge in merry-making."

22. How it turns out.

ἐπ' ᾧ τε εἶναι="on condition of being." The notion of ἐπὶ in this sense seems that of *taking one's stand upon* a thing, and so making it a *condition*.

ἀνέστη (stood up)="recovered." The general notion of ἀνά in composition seems to be that of *getting up*, after being *down*, and so *recovering* either *intransitively*, as here, or *transitively*, as ἀναβλέπειν="to recover one's sight," "to look up."

23. The digressive story of Arion (moral, and creditable to Greece).

παραστήναι="was presented (to view)." In Ionic and Attic Greek many simple and compound verbs are *intransitive* in aor. 2 and perfect 2, and *transitive* in aor. 1 and perfect 1; as perfect 2, ἐφθορα="I was destroyed," but ἐφθαρκα, perfect 1, "I destroyed;" ἔστησα, aor. 1, "I placed," ἔστην, aor. 2, "I stood."

Ἀρίονα. Virgil (*Ecl.* VIII. 55), "inter delphinās Arion."

ἐξενειχθέντα (from ἐκφέρω)="had been carried *all the way*." See on Chap. 21.

ἐπὶ δελφίνος...ἐπὶ Ταύραρον. With a *genitive* (of place) ἐπὶ denotes "rest upon," with an *accusative* (of place) "motion up to," or, "as far as." Tænarus is now "Cape Matapan."

κιθαροῦδον="one who *played* on and *sang* to his harp." This *exact* sense of the term brings out more clearly Horace's expression (*Od.* I xv.), "citharæ carmina dividēs."

διθύραμβον, "the hymn of Bacchus," the germ of Attic tragedy. In every stage of its development it was the recognised type of the turbulent and enthusiastic element of Greek sacred music. Blakesley derives the word from an Egyptian term Tithrambos = "*furorem movens*." Arion, however, did not *invent* the Dithyramb, he merely improved it: it was well known before his time to Archilochus, who boasts (in a fragment) of his skill "in leading off the Dithyramb, the lovely song of Dionysus." See Arist. *Poet.* iv., *Rhet.* iii. 1, Pind. *Oly.* xiii. 25.

τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. Here, as in Homer, the article is *relative* and *demonstrative*, and is in the genitive case by *attraction*. ἴδμεν = Attic ἴσμεν, for οἶδαμεν.

διδάξαντα = "exhibited" = Lat. "docuit" (fabulam), as the poet in those days used to *teach* the actors his *compositions* before they could be *exhibited*.

24. The Corinthians and Lesbians confirm this story.

τὸν πολλὸν τοῦ χρόνου = "the *greater* (portion) of his time." Such is the force of the article when preceding πολλός: thus, οἱ πολλοί = "the *majority*."

διατριβόντα (*rubbing through it*) = "*expending*," Lat. "*conterere*" (tempus). Compare Thucy. iii. 38, διατριβὴ χρόνου = "*waste of time*."

παρὰ Περιανδρῶ = "*at the court of Periander*." Here παρὰ = Lat. "apud," French "chez." Compare i. 86, 105.

ἐπιθυμῆσαι πλώσαι = "(set) *his heart upon sailing* (*without further delay*). Observe here the common force of the aorist in non-indicative moods, so like the Irish "*to be after*" doing anything.

ἐργασάμενον δὲ χρήματα μέγαλα = "*having made* (for himself) a large fortune."

θελῆσαι ὀπίσω ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικέσθαι = "*he was resolved to go away back again to Corinth*." βούλομαι would have expressed merely the *wish* or *preference*.

ὀρμᾶσθαι = "(that) he *started*," mid. of ὀρμᾶω = "to impel." Distinguish this from ὀρμέω = "to be at anchor" and ὀρμίζω = "to bring to anchor."

μισθώσασθαι = "got the hire of" (mid. voice), μισθῶσαι = "*to let out to hire*." ἐν τῷ πελάγει = "in the deep, open sea," far away from land. The Greek πέλαγος is evidently from the Hebrew "*peleg*" = "*separation*." In early times the ocean did not, as now, *unite*, but rather *divide* nations, hence Horace's *distinctive* attribute for the ocean, "*dissociabili*."

διαχρᾶσθαι μιν = "to dispatch himself" (literally, "to *use* himself up)."

ὡς ἂν ταφῆς, κ.τ.λ. As custom forbade them to throw the dead overboard.

τὴν ταχίστην. An elliptical accusative of the cognate word, supply ἐκπήδησιν.

ἀπειληθέντα... ἐς ἀπορίην = "being completely cooped up in a dilemma without ways or means (to extricate himself)."

περιδέειν = "to allow" (literally, to look round about, and not straight at, as we say, "to blink" a thing; so to neglect, and compare our "overlook").

ἐν τῇ σκεπῇ πάσῃ. This may refer to the *long robe*, reaching to the feet, called *ὀρθοσταδίας*, worn by the harpers; so invested he might better claim the protection of his patron god, Apollo, who saved poets and musicians: hence Horace's expression, "sic me servavit Apollo."

κατεργάσασθαι = "would without delay dispatch himself." Mark the aorist here, and compare the Lat. "conficere" in the same sense.

καὶ τοῖσι ἐσελθεῖν γὰρ ἡδονήν, κ.τ.λ. These inverted clauses seem = καὶ τούτους ἀναχωρήσαι ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης, ἐσελθεῖν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡδονήν, κ.τ.λ. Here γὰρ = ἐπεὶ = "since that."

διεξελεῖν νόμον τὸν ὄρθιον = "went completely through the rousing measure;" a song of a martial character.

ὡς εἶχε. Supply αὐτὸν = "as he had himself," just as he was, i. e. attired in his minstrel's dress.

ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας = "under the influence of disbelief."

ἀνακῶς δὲ ἔχειν = φροντίζειν (according to Suidas). Supply λέγουσι. περὶ Ἰταλίων = "near Italy," as Tarentum was not included in the term Italy until about 400 B.C.

εὖ πρήσσοντα = "doing well," as we say for "prosperous."

25. Presents of Alyattes to the Delphic temple.

τελευτᾷ. Supply τὸν βίον = "closes (his life)."

δεύτερος. Gyges had been the first.

κρητῆρδ' τε ἀργύρεον = "a silver mixing-cup." Adjectives ending in -eos and -ivos = English "-en," Lat. "-eus," denote the material from which anything is made, as χρύσεος = "golden," Lat. "aureus." Compare below σιδήρεον.

θέης ἀξίον = "worth seeing."

26. The reign of Cræsus—his attack upon the Ephesians.

ἐπεθήκατο = "at once set himself upon," i. e. attacked.

ἀνέθεσαν τὴν πόλιν. So Polycrates consecrated Rhemia to Apollo. Thucy. III. 104.

ἔστι δὲ... ἐπτά στάδιοι = "now there is (an interval) of seven stadia between." Here the verb is impersonal, see VII. 34, and compare the Attic formula ἔστιν οἱ, and the French idiom "il est des hommes."

πρώτοι μὲν δὴ, κ.τ.λ. = "These indeed, observe, were the first (of the Greeks) that Cræsus laid hands upon."

27. Crœsus makes an alliance with the Ionian Islanders.

κατεστράφατο, Ionic = Attic κατεστραμμένοι ἦσαν.

καταπαύσαι = "put a downright stop to." This is often the force of κατὰ in composition.

μυρίην ἵππον = "ten thousand horse." ἵππος *collective* is always *feminine*. So Thucy. I. 62, δικοσίαν ἵππον, and Herod. I. 80, ἡ κάμηλος.

Λυδῶν παῖδας = Λύδους. So in Homer we have *νῆες* and *κούρος* Ἀχαιῶν, so in the Holy Bible we read "sons of the Prophets," "sons of Levi," and in Herod. V. 49, παῖδας Ἰώνων.

σὺν ἵπποισι. It seems from Homer (*Iliad*, X. 431) that the Lydians, formerly called Mæonians, were long distinguished as cavalry-warriors; Homer's words are *Μῆνες ἵπποκορυσταί*.

ὑπολαβόντα. Supply τὸν λόγον.

νησιώτας δὲ τί δοκέεις, κ.τ.λ. = "what else do you fancy that the islanders have been praying for (aye, as soon as ever they learned that you were about to build ships against them) than to catch, and soon too (the aorist), the Lydians at sea?" Observe that λαβεῖν here depends on ἡ.

τίσωνταί σε = "take *their* vengeance on you," (mid).

δουλώσας ἔχεις = (whom) "you *have* enslaved and *keep* enslaved." This combination of the participle of a verb with ἔχω marks not only a *completed* action but also the *present state* resulting from it. Compare Soph. ἔγωγε θαυμάσας ἔχω = "I have wondered, and still *hold on* wondering." In Latin after the same way we have "habeo" used with a participle; this was the germ of the usage common to modern languages, of using the verb corresponding to the English "have" as an *auxiliary* verb. Compare I. 28, εἶχε καταστρεψάμενος; 37, ἀποκληῖσας ἔχεις; chap. 120, διατάξας εἶχε.

28. The extent of the Lydian empire.

ἐντὸς Ἀλυος = "to the west of the Halys."

Λυδοί. There is a difficulty here about the Lydians being named among the *subdued* nations, when they were the *subjects* of Crœsus. Some suppose that Herodotus wished to enumerate *all the subjects*, and therefore began with the Lydians. Others say the passage implies Crœsus to have been an *usurper*. We are inclined to suspect a sort of *zeugma* here, and that one portion of the verbal notion, expressed by ὑπ' ἐνωτῷ εἶχε, applies *primarily* to the Lydians, and *secondarily* to the other tribes, while the other portion of the verbal notion καταστρεψάμενος applies rather to the *other tribes* than to the Lydians; a view which is perfectly borne out by his own words at the beginning of the next chapter, κατεστραμμένων δὲ τούτων, καὶ προσεπικτωμένου Κροίσου Λυδοῖσι, where the *complex* verb of the former chapter is *split up into its two component parts*, and each part is thus applied *distinctly* and *distinctively* to the object it properly belongs to.

Χάλυβες. On the coast of Pontus, east of Paphlagonia (see Cramer's Asia Minor). Their country was famous for *iron*.

οἱ Ὀυνοί. See VII. 75.

29. Solon's visit to Sardis.

ἀκμαζούσας πλούτῳ = "in the zenith of her wealth." See Thucy. I. 1.

σοφισταί = not "*sophists*" but "*sages*." See Grote, Vol. VIII. 479.

καὶ δὴ καὶ = "and now (observe), even." Solon. See on I. 1.

κατὰ θεωρίας πρόφασιν = "for the pretended purpose of *seeing* the world."

ὀρκίοισι γὰρ κατεῖχοντο = "for *they continued* to be bound down by their oaths."

δέκα ἔτεα χρῆσεσθαι. Observe that the proper form of the oath was *χρησόμεθα*, κ.τ.λ., the accompaniment being τοὺς ἄν σφι, κ.τ.λ.

30. Solon's discourse with Cræsus.

παρὰ Ἀμασιν...παρὰ Κροῖσον = "to the *court* of Amasis of Cræsus." Compare Lat. "*apud*," French, "*chez*."

ἕμερος μοι ἐπῆλθε = "a *longing desire* has come upon me."

εἰ τινα = Lat. "*quemnam*."

εἶναι ὀλβιώτατος. The rule seems to be both in Latin and Greek that the verb signifying "to be" *takes after it* whatever case goes *before it*, whether the preceding case is *expressed or understood*; here a *nominative* (αὐτὸς) seems to precede, therefore a *nominative* succeeds.

οὐδὲν ὑποθωπεύσας = "without the *slightest flattery*." ὑπὸ = Lat. "sub" in a *diminutive* sense in composition. θωπεύω = θέω, "compono," and ὤψ = "vultum." So Shakespeare, "*frame my face to all occasions*;" and Tacitus, "*vultu composito*."

ἀποθωμύσας = "lost in wonder for the moment" (at what was said).

ἐπιστρεφώς, not = "*diligently*," but literally = "*turning upon him*."

κοίῃ δὴ = ποίῃ δὴ ὁδῷ = "now in what way;" δὴ = ἦδη.

τῆς πόλιος εὖ ἡκούσης = "*his state going on well*." Observe here the possessive force of the Article.

παῖδες ἦσαν καλοὶ τε κάγαθοι = "and he had children both beautiful and good." Aristotle in *Rhet.* I. 4 regards εὐτεκνία and πολυτεκνία as necessary elements of man's happiness (εὐδαιμονία), and in his *Ethics*, I. 8: οὐ πᾶν γὰρ εὐδαιμονικὸς ὁ τὴν ἰδέαν παναλσχῆς ἢ δυσγενῆς ἢ μονώτης καὶ ἄτεκνος. Compare the language of Holy Scripture, "*Happy is the man that has his quiver full of them*" (i. e. children), and the Brahminical proverb, "*The sun of happiness never smiles on the ugly, ill-born, eunuch*."

τοῦ βίου εὖ ἡκοντι = "having gone on well (in the course) of his life." Observe that ζωὴ is = "*life intensive*." Lat. "*vita*," quam vivimus. βίος =

"life extensive" (course of life). Lat. "vita" quam vivimus. Hence the "means" and "manner" of life: under all these senses lies Aristotle's definition, βίος ἐστὶ λογικὴ ζωή, making it equivalent to "*animal existence, accompanied with reason*:" a distinction that has made itself felt in our own language, as in the words "zoology" and "biography." See Dean Trench, *Greek Test. Syn.* p. 105.

ὥς τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν="as things are with us." *In our own power* would require ἐφ' ἡμῶν.

τελευτὴ λαμπροτάτη ἐπεγένετο="a most brilliant ending came to crown his life." Compare I. 14, ἐπετελέσθη.

ἐθαψαν αὐτοῦ, τῇ περ ἔπεσε="buried on the spot, exactly where he fell." With αὐτοῦ some would supply τοῦ τόπου.

31. Solon's discourse continued.

ὥς δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον, κ.τ.λ.="Now when Solon roused the curiosity of Cresus about Tellus." γῶν=γούν="at all events."

ἐκκλητῶμενοι τῇ ὥρῃ. Compare Caesar's expression, "*tempore exclusus*," and see VII. 139, ἀναγκαίη ἐξέργνυμαι, and Thueyd. III. 70.

διέδεξε="clearly pointed out" (in a distinguished manner). Such often is the force of διὰ in composition. δευτερεία (supply ἀθλα)="the second prize."

οἶον τέκνων=ὅτι τοιούτων τέκνων. Observe πρὸς τούτῳ="in addition to this," but πρὸς τοῦτο "on this account."

περιχαρῆς="exceedingly glad" (περὶ=περισσῶς).

κατακοιμηθέντες="having laid down to sleep."

ποιησάμενος (mid.)="having caused to be made." So διδάσκεσθαι="to have taught."

32. Solon's discourse continued.

ἔνεμε="went on to assign:" force of the imperfect, as elsewhere.

σπερχθεις="hasty." See v. 33: this usage of the word is peculiarly Ionic.

ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρη. Jelf observes that δὲ here marks the suppression of a thought,—probably ἰδιώτας μὲν εὐδαίμονας νομίζεις.

οὐδὲ ἰδιωτέων ἀνδρῶν ἀξίους="not even equal to men in a private (life)." οὐδὲ is here emphatic, and not connective.

ἀπέρριπται ἐς τὸ μηδὲν="rejected as nothing," "set at naught."

τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐόν, κ.τ.λ.="that the Divinity is really and entirely jealous and apt to cause confusion." This sentiment is often found: see III. 40; VII. 10. 5; VII. 46; VIII. 109. Compare the language of Holy Writ (Exod. xx. 5), "for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God;" Nah. i. 2, "God is jealous, and the Lord revengeth;" Jer. i. 17, "Be not dismayed, lest I confound thee before them." Compare too the "Deus Ultor" of the Romans. It is the overweening conceit of prosperity, rather than prosperity itself, and the pride fostered by distinction,

rather than distinction itself, that provokes the righteous indignation (*νέμεσις*) of the jealous Divinity. The cases of Cræsus and Xerxes alone are enough to show this. Observe how Herodotus begins the 34th chapter: Μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον, ἔλαβε ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις μεγάλη Κροίσον, ὡς εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισε ἑωυτὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ὀλβιώτατον. See also VII. 10. 5: οὐ γὰρ ἔφ' φρονέειν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἑωυτὸν. Observe he is here accounting for the action of the ὁ θεὸς φθονήσας. Again, VIII. 109: θεοὶ τε...οἱ ἐφθόνησαν ἀνδρα...ἐόντα ἀνδρίον τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλον, κ.τ.λ. Such passages show that the jealousy of the Deity, according to the conception of Herodotus, was *conditional*, and only called forth by the *sin of man*, or his *conceit*, and did not arise, as Rawlinson erroneously supposes, because the Deity did not like any one to be great or happy but himself. In connection with this, observe, in Bk. III. 108, Herodotus *explicitly* states a doctrine he had before implied,—καὶ ὡς τοῦ θείου ἢ προνοῆς, ὥσπερ καὶ οἰκός, ἐστὶ ἐοῦσα σοφή: and, in following out this declaration of the *goodness* of providence, he enunciates as one phase of it,—a law of *compensation*. According to this law Greece has the best climate, though she has not the best *productions*, and other countries denied good *climates* are blessed with *good productions*; and so with men and cities, the humble are exalted, and the proud are debased. From a view of the whole tenor of the character of Cræsus, he seems to have been a most fitting object to call down the humbling dispensations of providence on his head. We may glance at his *unprincipled* aggressions (ἄλλοισι ἄλλας αἰτίας ἐπιφέρων), his vain-glorious fondness for display, his overweening conceit of his own grandeur, and his revengeful and captious spirit. Valckenaer's explanation of the passage is this: "Istiusmodi Historicorum dicta minus etiam videbuntur invidiosa cogitanti, τὸ θεῖον Deum esse ullorem, φθόνον vindictam divinam vulgo dictam νέμεσιν. Quos Deus sequitur ultor, superbis videtur, diciturque φθονερός." In connection with this, observe that Herodotus calls the φθόνος by another term in chap. 34, namely, νέμεσις. According to Arist. *Rhet.* II. 9, it is a feeling to be attributed to the Gods rather than men. Strictly the word means a *distribution* (νέμω) of *what is due*, hence "righteous indignation" due against *undeserved* prosperity. See *Ethics*, II. 7, 15. It is considered by Aristotle a *virtue* lying between φθόνος, "envy," and ἐπιχαιρεκακία = "a malignity."

τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ = "in the length of time." Here the *attribute* is *emphatic*.

ἐς γὰρ ἑβδομήκοντα, κ.τ.λ. = "for I set the limit of human life at seventy years, at the farthest," so the Psalmist, "The days of our years are threescore years and ten."

παρέχονται, κ.τ.λ. Here Herodotus is guilty of the strange error of making the solar year to average 375 days: though he knew its proper average (see II. 4). He makes Solon count his months at 30 days each, instead of 29 and 30 alternately, and then he forgets to say that from time to time the *intercalary* month was omitted altogether: these blunders therefore led to his wrong calculation.

πάν ἐστι ἀνθρωπος συμφορῇ = "man is altogether an accident."

ἐπισχέω—supply χρῆ=“we ought to *hold on*,” i.e. *to stop*. Compare Æsch. *Ag.* 902:

δλβισαι δὲ χρῆ
βιον τελευτήσαντ' ἐν εὐστοῖ φίλῃ.

See Arist. *Ethics*, I. 10, where this opinion is controverted.

καταρκέει παρέχουσα=“is *fully competent* to supply.”

παρ' ἐμοὶ=“*in my judgment*.” See III. 160: παρὰ Δαρείῳ κριτῇ.

δίκαιός ἐστι φέρεσθαι=“has a right to carry off for himself.”

ὑποδέξας=“having given *glimpses* of.” συλλάβειν=“grasp at the *same time*.”

33. Cræsus dismisses Solon in dishonour.

λόγον μιν ποιησάμενος οὐδενός=“having made him of no account.”

ἀποπέμπεται=“has him sent off,” not escorts him in *person*.

ὅς...μετεῖς=Lat. “qui prætermiserit.”

34. Cræsus dreams about the death of his son Atys.

μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον=“after the departure of Solon.” Compare the Lat. use of “post” or “ante” with an *accusative* and *participle*, thus “post annum exactum,” “post urbem conditam,” “ante urbem conditam.”

ὥς εἰκάσαι. Elliptical and aoristic. Supply ἔξεστι=“as one may conjecture on the *spur of the moment*.”

ἀπάντων (ἅμα πᾶς)=Lat. “cunctorum” (“conjunctorum”), either “of all, *taken in a body*,” or “all *without exception*,” the latter is the more common meaning with *superlatives*, as here.

οἱ εὐδοντι ἐπέστη ὄνειρος=“the phantom *stood over* him as he slept.” Observe the Homeric personality thus given to the Dream-God, in taking *this attitude*: in Bk. VII. 14, it is more fully brought out, and represented as a *speaking* character, νυκτὸς δὲ γενομένης αὐτὺς τῶντ' ὄνειρον τῷ Ξέρξῃ κατυπνωμένῳ ἔλεγε ἐπιστάν. And compare the case of the Dream-God that visited Agamemnon's pillow in *Iliad*, II. 20, στῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ... Ὀνειρος; a passage which Milton evidently had in view when he dictated

“When suddenly *stood at my head a dream*.”

ὅς ἔφανε=“who proceeded to show forth.” Observe the change from the aorist of previous verbs to the *imperfect* here.

κωφός=“*deaf and dumb*.” In the *early form* of the language the word seems to have been taken in both senses.

τοῦτον δὴ ὦν τὸν Ἄτυν=“this, *observe*, then is the Atys which.” Some have said that Atys comes from ἀτῆ=“the man *judicially blind*,” and Adrastus=“the man *unable to fly from* (his doom),” ἄ and διδράσκειν. See Mure's *Greek Lit.* Vol. IV. p. 326.

ἀπολέει contracted future for ἀπολέσει=(how) “he will lose” him.

ἑωυτῷ λόγον ἔδωκε = "gave himself up to consideration."

ἄγεται γυναῖκα = "he is procuring a wife" (force of the mid. voice).

ἀκόντια δὲ καὶ δοράτια. Mark the father's tender care in these minute precautions which led him to put away even all these *little* instruments. In Latin, Greek, and English the rule of diminutives seems to be this, we *shorten* the *thing* signified by lengthening the *word* significant of it. ἄκων = "javelin;" ἀκόντιον = "a little javelin," or "a boy's javelin" (as here). Lat. "homo" = "man," "homunculus" = "a mannikin."

ἐς τοὺς θαλάμους συνένησε, κ.τ.λ. "(he brought) them into the women's chambers, and **PILED** them up there, to prevent any (weapon) falling upon his son, by being suspended over him."

§5. Adrastus visits Cræsus.

ἔχοντας δὲ οἱ ἐν χειρὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν γάμον, just after our idiom = "whilst he has on hand the marriage of his son."

συμφορῇ ἐχόμενος = "held down by calamity." In Greek, calamity, joy, longing, desire, paleness, trembling, wrath, anguish, woe, indeed almost all passions and states, are conceived as either "seizing" or "holding" (ἐχω) us. Thus by a peculiar property of the Greek language they are made the *active* agents, while we are regarded as the *passive* subjects of the actions. This transference of active agency from the living being to his affections, states, feelings, and conditions, is after all more philosophical and true to nature than our own *mode of expression*, as these feelings, &c. do, in *point of fact*, influence us *more than we can be said to influence them* (see *Iliad*, III. 340—360. Weale's Edition.) The Romans endeavoured, though with no very great success, to naturalize this turn of thought among themselves, as in such phrases as "pallor habet vultum."

καθαρὸς χεῖρας = "clean in his hands," the accusative of closer definition. Æschylus expresses the pollution by human blood, as σὺν πίνῃ χερῶν.

οὐκ ἔων = "being *actually* not" (μὴ ἔων = "supposing he were not.")

ἐκάθηρε. From this it appears that Cræsus stands in the relation of a *priest-king*. This purification for homicide was *unknown* to Homer. The Greeks evidently borrowed it from the Lydians: at Athens it was taken cognizance of in the court of the Ephetæ. Compare the Jewish cities of refuge, and see Eurip. *Iphig. in Taur.* 949, and Æsch. *Eum.* 445, with Müller's most able annotations and dissertations.

ἔστι δὲ παραπλησίη ἡ κάθαρσις τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. Grote, Vol. I. p. 34, well observes, "one remarkable proof, amongst many, of the deep hold which this idea took of the greatest minds in Greece, that serious mischief would fall upon the community, if family quarrels or homicide remained *without religious expiation*, is to be found in the objections which Aristotle urges against the community of women proposed in the Platonic republic. It could not be known what individuals stood in the relation of father, son, or brother: if therefore, wrong or murder of kindred should take place, the appropriate religious atone-

ments (*αἱ νομιζόμεναι λύσεις*) could not be applied, and the crime would go *unexpiated* (Arist. *Pol.* II. I, 14, and see Thucyd. I. 115).

κῶθεν τῆς Φρυγίης = "from what quarter of Phrygia:" the *local* genitive. Compare in Latin "*qua gentium*," "*ubi terrarum*." On this principle we may explain οὗ, "where," elliptical for οὗ τόπου, and *κατέαγα τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὡς ποδῶν ἔχομαι, ὡς τάχους ἔχω*, and the distinction between *ἔβαλεν αὐτὸν* = "he hit him," the *object* aimed at, and *ἔβαλεν αὐτοῦ* = "he cast at *that place*, where the object was."

ἦκων = "having come." The present of this verb has always a *perfect* as well as *present* sense = "I *have* come, and *am* present." The imperfect *ἦκον* = "I *had* come." See *Hecub.* of Eurip. I.

ἐπίστιος Ionic = Attic *ἐφέστιος* = "one at the hearth" as a suppliant. See *Æsch. Eum.* 488 (Müller's Edition), and *Odys.* VII. 153.

ἀμείβετο = "returned" (an answer). Compare with the whole of this story the account given by Thucydides of the supplication of Themistocles.

ἀμηχανήσεις χρήματος οὐδενὸς = "you shall be in a difficulty for nothing." The *privative* genitive.

ἐν ἡμετέρου. Supply *οἴκῳ* = (as we say) "in a house of *ours*" (see VII. 8).

ὧς κουφότατα φέρων, κ.τ.λ. Hor. *Carm.* I. 24. 19 :

"Levius fit patientia
Quicquid corrigere est nefas."

36. The lands of the Mysians devastated by a boar.

Μυσίῳ Οὐλίρμῳ. This is one of the highest mountains in Asia Minor, it lies on the western borders of Bithynia, a little to the south of Prusa. Its modern name is *Anadolî Dagh*. See Cramer's *Asia Minor*, and *Dic. of Geogr.* by Dr Smith.

σὺὸς χρῆμα μέγα = "a great monster of a boar." A periphrasis to express *size* or *multitude*. See VII. 108, III. 109; Eurip. *Androm.* 181 and 718; and Xen. I. 4. 8.

ὀρμώμενος = "taking *its* start;" mid. voice.

τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν ἔργα = "the *laboured* (fields) of the Mysians." Compare Homer's *Iliad*, II. 751, and Virgil's "*labores*" (*hominumque boûmque*).

διαφθείρεσκε = "began, and went on destroying." Observe the force of the ending in *-σκω* and imperfect. Compare *ποιέεσκον* a little below, a *Homeric* form.

συμπέψαι ἡμῖν = "to send along with us *without delay*."

οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑμῖν, κ.τ.λ. = "for *I could not possibly* send him along with you." Observe how *ἂν* strengthens the *negative*.

νεόγαμὸς τε γὰρ ἐστί. Compare the language of Holy Writ, "I have *married* a wife, and therefore I *cannot* come."

ταῦτα = τὰ τοῦ γάμου.

τὸ κυνηγέσιον πᾶν = "my entire hunting establishment," and so τὸ εἰρέσιον = "the rowing apparatus."

37. Atys goes to the hunting of the boar.

ἀποχρεωμένων τούτοις = "making a full use of these" (offers), i. e. *accepted them*, were content with. See I. 102, VIII. 14.

ἐπεισέρχεται = "afterwards comes into (his father's presence)."

οὐ φαμένον = Lat. "quum negaret."

τόν γε παῖδα = "that son, at all events." The article here is evidently *demonstrative*.

ἀποκληῖσας ἔχεις = "you have shut me out, and keep me shut out from" (these matters). See on I. 27.

τέοιςι δμμασι=τίσι δμμασι = "with what eyes," with what a face. Compare Soph. *Ajax*, 457, καὶ ποῖον δμμα πατρὶ δηλώσω φανείς Τελαμῶνι. See *Phil.* 110, and Ovid, *Her.* VI. 145:

"Quo vultu natos, quo me scelerate videres."

38. The hunting of Atys.

ἐπὶ τὰ παραλαμβανόμενα = "to the things taken in hand;" i. e. the hunting. Some say = "to the matter of which news is brought me."

διακλέψαι = "to preserve you *by stealth during (my life)*."

διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοήν = "maimed in his hearing." The accusative of *closer definition*.

39. The hunting of Atys.

συγγνώμη = "a fellow-feeling."

τὸ δὲ οὐ μανθάνεις, κ.τ.λ. = "now the fact that you do not understand—nay, that you have *missed* the scope of the vision, it is right that I should tell you." In this sense of λανθάνω compare the Lat. "*fallo*," as Horace's "*castra fefellit*," "*qui moriens natusque fefellit*."

40. The hunting of Atys continued.

ἔστι τῇ με νικᾷς = "there is the point in which you conquer me."

μεταγινώσκω = "I change my opinion." Compare μετανοῶ = "repentance" = "a change of heart." μετὰ often has this force in composition.

41. The hunting of Atys continued.

ἀχάρι. Contracted form of ἀχάριτι, as ἀπόλι (VIII. 61) for ἀπόλιδι. The term "unpleasant," ἀχάρις, is often applied by Herodotus to some very grievous calamity, by the figure litotes. See II. 141, VI. 9, VII. 138, 190. Compare Virgil's expression, *Georg.* III. 5: "*illaudati—Busiridis*."

ὑποξέδμενος ἔχω = "I quietly received you into my house, and have kept you there." See on I. 27.

κλώπες κακοῦργοι. Compare the robbers in Macbeth, and Horace's "mali fures."

ἐπὶ δηλήσει=“for the purpose of injuring you.”

ἀπολαμπρύνει=ἀπολαμπρυνῇ=“you will gain *glory* for yourself.” The ancients were as alive to “the *glory* of the chase” as much as the moderns.

42. Adrastus undertakes to accompany the son of Cræsus.

ἂν οὐκ ἦτα=“I could not *possibly* have gone.” ἂν here as elsewhere *strengthens* the *negative*.

συμφορῇ τοῦδε κεχρημένον=“who has experienced such misfortune” (as I have). So the Latins used “utor.”

οὐτε τὸ βούλεσθαι πάρα=“neither is the wish (so to do) present with me,” i. e. mine. πάρα=πάρεστι: observe the accent.

ἀπήμονα τοῦ φυλάσσειντος, κ.τ.λ.=“look forward *in confidence* (τοῦ) to (your son’s) returning home, free from calamity, as far as his guardian is concerned.” ἐνεκεν Ionic=Attic ἐνεκα.

43. Adrastus kills Atys.

ἐσηκόντιζον=“they *continued* to throw their darts upon him.” Force of the imperfect.

ἐνθα δὴ ὁ ξένος, οὗτος δὴ ὁ καθαρθεὶς τὸν φόνον=“it was *here*, observe, that the stranger—this stranger, observe, that had been purified from the blood of murder.” δὴ strongly intensifies the word it precedes.

ἐξέπλησε τοῦ ὀνείρου, κ.τ.λ.=“*immediately fulfilled* the declaration of that dream.”

44. Cræsus overwhelmed with grief at the loss of his son.

μᾶλλον τι ἐδewολογέετο=“and he reckoned it something the more dreadful” (because, &c.).

περιημεκτέων. This word is peculiar to Herodotus. See III. 64, VIII. 109, I. 164. According to Suidas=δεινοπαθήσας. Schneider derives it from αἰμακτέω=“to smart *very* much from a *bloody* wound.” περι=περισσώς, and hence, as here,=“to *suffer intensely*.”

Καθάριον=“as the God presiding over purification from the blood of murder.” Ἐπίσιον=“as the God presiding over the (hospitable) hearth.” Ἐταιρήιον=“as the God presiding over friendship.”

ἐλάνθανε βόσκων=“he had continued to rear, and *knew it not*.” See on I. 5.

45. Cræsus pardons Adrastus for having killed his son.

ἐπικατασφάζει μιν κελεύων, κ.τ.λ.=“bidding him strike him *down* in death *upon* the corpse *without hesitation*.”

ἀπολωλεκώς εἶη=“he had *been the ruin of*” (the father in the son).

κατοικτεῖρει=“pitied him *from his heart*.” With verbs of *feeling*, especially, such is often the force of κατᾶ.

εἰς δὲ οὐ σν, κ.τ.λ. See Homer’s *Iliad*, IV. 164.

εἰ μὴ ὅσον=“except inasmuch as.” See Arist. *Rhet.* II. 3.

φονεύς δὲ τοῦ καθηραυτος. This well accords with ἀπολωλεκώς above: destroying the father in the destruction of his only son.

ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ κατήστο = "continued settled down in great grief" (for the dead). Compare the Latin "*luctus*."

46. Cræsus consults and tests the Oracles.

πένθεος μὲν Κροῖσον ἀπέπαυσε = "made Cræsus cease from his mourning for the dead." παύομαι = "to stop oneself," "to cease" (intransitively).

ἐνέβησε δὲ ἐς φροντίδα = "and it entered into his serious consideration."

καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν αὐξανομένην τὴν δύναμιν = "to take down their power, as it was increasing." See III. 36, 52, 128.

καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ = "and that one in Libya" (that of Ammon), because Egypt was regarded by Herodotus as in *Asia*, not in *Africa*. For the Egyptian oracles see II. 83; for that at Abæ see Soph. *Æd. Ty.* 897—899, and Herod. VIII. 134; for Dodona see II. 52.

Ἀμφιδρέων καὶ Τροφώνιον. Both these oracles were in Bœotia.

διέπεμπε = "he sent amongst them" (διὰ being distributive).

47. The Delphic oracle answers correctly the query of Cræsus.

ἡμερολογέοντας τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον = "reckoning the rest of the time by days" (λέγω, properly "to lay," and to reckon = "*laying together*").

οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν. Observe that οὐδαμοὶ in the plural is used exclusively by Herodotus. In IX. 58, the plural of οὐδεὶς occurs in the same clause, οὐδένης ἑόντες ἐν οὐδαμοῖσι.

ἐπιρῳότεον τὸ ἐντεταλμένον = "they proceeded to ask that which they had been commissioned" (to ask).

ἧ χαλκὸς μὲν, κ.τ.λ. = "and beneath is brass strewn (as a couch), and above it is arrayed in brass." This is Blakesley's interpretation.

48. Cræsus regards the oracle at Delphi as true.

τὴν κυρίην τῶν ἡμερέων = "the appointed day;" literally, "the chief of days."

ἐπινοήσας τὰ ἦν, κ.τ.λ. = "having set his mind upon those things which it was impossible to find out and to form conjectures upon."

χάλκεον ἐπίθημα ἐπιθεῖς = "having covered them with a brazen cover." The accusative of the cognate word.

49. The correct answer of Amphiaraus.

τοῦ μαντήτου. This appears to Blakesley to be a *gloss*, and on good grounds, as Herodotus speaks rather of Amphiaraus himself than of his shrine. See I. 46, VIII. 134.

50. The offerings of Cræsus to the Delphic oracle.

πάντα τρισχίλια ἔθυσσε = "he offered three thousand of each kind," not "*in all*," which would require τὰ πάντα. See I Kings VIII. 5, 63, and Herod. IV. 88, IX. 81.

ἐπιχρῶσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους = "overlaid with gold and silver."

ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ = "gold purified" (by being boiled down).

τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον = "two talents and a half." Professor Long observes here that this is Schweigheuser's correction: all the MSS. are said to have τρία ἡμιτάλαντα. If ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ be the *pure* gold, as we may fairly conclude, and λευκὸς χρυσοῦ gold *less pure*, or a compound metal, some correction is necessary to make the pure gold weigh heavier than the baser metal. Valla's Latin translation is "*duo talenta cum dimidio*," which exactly expresses τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον. Compare the expression τρίτος αὐτὸς = "himself, with two others," and see below, ἑβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον = "six talents and a half."

51. Offerings of Cræsus to the Delphian god.

καὶ τὰδε ἄλλα = "and these things *besides*." See II. 74, IV. 52.

μεγάλῃ μεγάλους = "great in size." Mark the Greek fondness for the *cognate* word.

ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσιόντι = "towards the right hand to one going in."

μετεκινήθησαν = "were moved to *different* places."

ὑπὸ τὸν νηὸν κατακαέντα = "*about the time* the temple was burnt down." Compare the Latin "*sub*" with the accusative, as Horace's "*sub funera Trojæ*." See also IX. 58, II. 36; Arist. *Ach.* 139.

ἐπικίρνεται (supply ὁ κρητῆρ) = "*mixes* (by pouring) *upon*."

Θεοφανίσι. A celebrated festival at Delphi. Valckenauer thought the reading was corrupt, and that Θεοξένια should be read, as this festival is well known to have been celebrated by the Delphians: but both festivals are mentioned by Pollux and Philostratus.

Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου. It is supposed that there were two celebrated Samian artists of this name: one, the son of Rhæcus, the inventor of casting bronze, in the eighth century, B.C.; the other, who is here meant, the son of Telecles, contemporary with Alyattes and Cræsus. See III. 41.

οὐ τὸ συντυχόν = "not the one to be met with every day," *not ordinary*.

οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες. Instead of λέγοντων, as if οἱ φάσι had preceded. (An anacolouthon.)

τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δειρῆς = "necklaces."

52. Presents sent by Cræsus to Amphiaræus.

χρύσειον πᾶν = "of *entire* gold," i. e. *solid* gold.

τὸ ξυστόν = "the shaft." The *polished* (ξέω) part of the δόρυ.

ἕς ἐμέ = "up to my time." Compare the Latin "*usque ad nos*."

ἐν τῷ νηῷ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος. From VIII. 134, it seems doubtful whether Amphiaræus had a chapel in the temple of Apollo, on the banks of the Ismenus. Bähr thinks that these gifts were removed from the temple of Amphiaræus, where his oracle was, and transferred to the

temple of Ismenian Apollo, where they remained in the time of Herodotus. Müller, *Orchomenos* (page 149), seems to think that a shrine of Amphiaraus was within the Ismenian.

53. Cræsus inquires from the oracles if he should go to war.

εἰ στρατεύηται...προσθέοιτο = "if he *should* make an expedition, and if he *could* attach to himself."

ταῦτα ἐπειρώτεον = "proceeded to ask these things *in addition*."

αἱ γνώμαι συνέδραμον = "the opinions concurred."

καταλῦσαι, aor. = "would *quickly* dissolve." Suidas has preserved the exact words of the oracle:

Κροῖσος Ἄλυν διαβάς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλύσει,

which Cicero thus renders, *Div. II. 56*:

"Cræsus, Halyn penetrans, magnam pervertet opum vim."

Compare the equally ambiguous oracle given to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus:

"Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse."

Cræsus really destroyed *his own* empire, foolishly thinking he would destroy that of the Persians.

54. His gratitude to the Delphians.

πάγχυ τε ἐλπίσας = "having fully expected."

προμαντήρην καὶ ἀτελείην καὶ προεδρίην = "precedency in consulting the oracle, exemption from tax (probably that imposed on foreigners by the Amphictyons), and a front seat at the games."

ἐς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον = "ever from time to time."

55. The Delphic oracle tells Cræsus the duration of his power.

ἐνεφορέετο αὐτοῦ = "he took his fill of it;" mid. and intensive.

χρᾶ = "answers." *χράσμαι* = "to seek an answer" from the oracle.

ποδαῖρῃ = "of *delicate* foot." See Eurip. *Troad.* 506, Deut. xxviii.

56. The Pelasgic and Hellenic races (see Appendix II.).

Blakesley proposes to read *ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἔόντα τὸ μὲν Πελασγικὸν τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος*, and translates, "for these were the leading nations of olden time, being, the one a Pelasgian, the other a Hellenic tribe." This is certainly ingenious and sensible.

ἐξεχώρησε refers to the *Ionian* tribe, not to the *Pelasgian*. See VII. 161, for the settled habits of the Athenians.

ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος = "for *in the time of Deucalion*." So *ἐπὶ Δώρου* = "in Dorus's time."

Δρυοπίδα. See VIII. 31.

57. The language of the Pelasgians.

Κρήστωνα. Niebuhr proposes to read *Κροτόνα* for *Κρήστωνα*, and thinks Crotona or Etruria is meant. The great historian is supported

by Dionysius. The text of Herodotus is ably supported by Cramer (*Hist.* Vol. I. p. 159). See Thucyd. IV. 109.

οἱ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι. See VI. 137 and Thucyd. IV. 119. From Book II. 51, it would seem that Herod. uses σύνοικοι in its strict sense of the inhabitants of the *same country*, though of *different origin*.

ὅσα ἄλλα. Supply πάντα as antecedent.

τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε = "learned to *change* their language."

58. The Hellenic language.

τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν γλῶσση μὲν, κ.τ.λ. = "now the Hellenic race, since it came into being, *continues* to use the same language, as is *perfectly* evident to me."

ἀποσχισθὲν = "having *branched off* from." The passive used in a *middle* sense. Observe that this metaphor is drawn from the stream that branches off or *tears itself* away from the regular course of the river. See IV. 56, II. 17, VII. 233.

τῶν ἐθνῶν πολλῶν = "those nations that were numerous."

τῶν πολλῶν ἐθνῶν = "the *majority* of nations."

προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ = "that *had gone over* to it" as volunteers. This accords with Thucyd. I. 3.

59. An account of Athens.

τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν κατεχόμενόν τε καὶ διεσπασμένον, κ.τ.λ. = "he learnt from inquiry that the Attic nation was being *held down*, and had been torn into factions by Pisistratus."

ἐκπέμπειν = "to divorce (a wife)," but ἀπολείπειν = "to depart from (a husband)."

ἀπείπασθαι = "to repudiate" *his son as his own*, i. e. to *disown* him. In such words as ἀπείπα, ἀπείρηκα, the notion seems to be = "I have cried, off."

πείθεσθαι θέλειν. Supply φασί, λέγεται, or some such word.

στασιαζόντων. The factions may be thus classified :

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. The Hyperacrii (or Diacrii, being
Highlanders)—Democrats ; | { poor, and of the <i>lowest</i>
orders, bearing the name
of Θῆτες. |
| 2. The Pedieai (who held the plains
or μεσόγαια)—Aristocrats ; | |
| 3. The Parali (the <i>sea-coasters</i>)—
moderate, and for mixed govern-
ment ; | { being noble, and rich from
their landed possessions.

{ being commercial, they
dreaded both extremes ;
i. e. Aristocracy and De-
mocracy. |

καταφρονήσας τὴν τυραννίδα. Some say = "thinking of the tyranny, *with contempt for his opponents*." This seems *rather strained*, why not

= "having his mind *absorbed* in the tyranny," thinking of *nothing else*. This carries out the *intensive* notion often implied in *κατά* in composition. See Herod. VIII. 10.

καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ὑπερακρίων προστάς = "and avowedly standing forth as the champion of the highland party."

δῆθεν = "forsooth," Latin, "scilicet." Almost always used in a bitterly *ironical* sense.

ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μεγαρέας. This expedition was made to recover Salamis, which the Megarians had taken along with Nisæa at the time of Cylon's insurrection, B.C. 620.

Νίσαιαν. The part of Megara connected by long walls to the city, as the Piræus was to Athens. See Thucyd. I. 103.

οἱ δορυφόροι... κορυνηφόροι δέ. An instance of ὑποκορισμός. See Arist. *Rhet.* III. 2, 15. The softening of *δορυφόροι* down to *κορυνηφόροι*, the less suspicious term, threw the Athenians off their guard.

τιμᾶς = "authorities." So Soph. *Ajax*, 654:

καὶ γὰρ τὰ δεινὰ, καὶ τὰ καρτερώτατα
τιμαῖς ὑπείκει.

ἐπὶ τοῖσι κατεστέωσι = "on condition that he conformed with the things as he found them established." Compare Thucyd. I. 13: ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι.

κοσμέων καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ = "ordering the city honourably and excellently." This shows that Pisistratus was *no tyrant in one sense* of the word.

60. Pisistratus is banished.

τῷαυτὸ φρονήσαντες = "having come to an *understanding*."

ἐκ νέης = Lat. "denuo" (= *de novo*), Eng. "anew."

ἐπεκηρυκένετο = "made his *overtures* by a herald."

ἐνδεξαμένον τὸν λόγον = "having entertained the proposal."

ἐπὶ τῇ κατόδῳ = "with a view to *his restoration*." Compare below, *κατάγει* = "restores."

ἐν Ἀθηναίοις τοῖσι πρώτοις. Compare Thucyd. II. 41, where Pericles calls Athens, τῆς Ἑλλάδος παιδενσιν, and Cicero, *de Orat.* I. 4, "illas omnium doctrinarum inventrices Athenas."

τῷ δήμῳ = "the *dème*," or district. There were 174 in Attica altogether: similar to our "*boroughs*."

προδέξαντες, κ.τ.λ. = "having pointed out beforehand to her (what kind of)," &c.

61. Pisistratus goes to Eretria.

ἐναγέων εἶναι τῶν Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων. See V. 70, 71, and Thucy. I. 126.

ὀργῇ... ὥς εἶχε. The same expression is found in I. 114.

παράπαν = "*all along*," and so "*entirely*."

γνώμην νικήσαντος = the accusative of closer definition. So in μάχην, πολέμους, Ὀλύμπια νικᾷν.

ἤγειρον δωτίνας = "they proceeded to collect contributions."

αἱ τῶς σφι προηδᾶτο κού τι = "which happened to owe them anything in former times," i. e. for past favours. See III. 140.

62. Pisistratus seizes Marathon.

διὰ ἐνδεκάτου ἔτους = "during a part of the eleventh year." Observe it is not the simple accusative of duration.

προσέρρεον = "continued to flow towards them." Imperfect tense.

οὕτω δὴ = "observe now in this case."

τοὺς κατιόντας = "those who were returning from exile."

οἱ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον = "Pisistratus and his train." Compare the Homeric formula, οἱ ἀμφὶ Πηλεῖον.

ἐς τῶντ' ἐσυνόντες = "coming together in the same place where (the enemies) were posted." See Jelf's *Greek Gram.*

ἐπὶ Παλληνίδος Ἀθηναίης ἱρὸν. See Eurip. *Herac.* 849, Παλληνίδος γὰρ σεμνὸν ἐκπερὼν πάγον Δίας Ἀθάνας. Pallene was a *démus* of the tribe Antiochus, not far from Acharnæ. According to Colonel Leake it occupied some part of the opening between the Pentitic mountain and the northern end of Hymettus.

καὶ ἀντὶα ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα = "got his soldiers in array opposite."

παρίσταται = "takes his stand by;" (force of mid.).

ἔρπται δ' ὁ βόλος, κ.τ.λ. = "the drop-net has been cast, and the seine (large drag-net) has been opened out, and the tunny-fishes will dart in through the moonshiny night." Here Blakesley well observes, "The position of the armies and their operations will be excellently described by the oracle, if we suppose, first, the Pisistratids from Mesogæa marching upon Pallene; next, the Athenian force advancing to meet these, and opposing an obstacle to their advance; thirdly, the Pisistratids from Marathon, by a night-march from Stamata round the foot of Mount Brilessus, coming upon them about dinner-time. Then the Mesogæan force would be aptly denoted by the δίκτυον (or seine), the Marathonian corps by the βόλος (or drop-net), and the Athenians by the shoal of tunny fish. The brightness of the mid-day, the critical time for the attack, is symbolized by the epithet σεληναίη applied to νύξ; night (not a bright, but a dark one) being the proper time for fishing, after the manner common in Greece, when the shoal is attracted by a torch (held over the stern of the boat) into the entrance of the net prepared for them."

63. Pisistratus accepts the oracle of Amphilytus.

συλλαβὼν τὸ χρηστήριον = "having comprehended the oracle." So I. 90, οὐ συλλαβὼν δὲ τὸ ῥηθέν.

ὅπως μῆτε ἀλυσθεῖεν. Bähr very aptly explains this as "non solum non...sed etiam," "not only to prevent their being assembled, but to

keep them *scattered*." The optative mood is used with *ὅπως* because *ἐπιτεχνῶνται* is the *historical* present, used instead of the aorist.

ἀπέναντι ἑκάστος. The nominative for the accusative. This anacolouthon is common in Herodotus.

64. Pisistratus purifies Delos.

τῶν μὲν αὐτόθεν = "some, indeed, from the country itself;" namely, Attica, an allusion to the mine of Laurium. See Bösch's *Public Economy of Athens*, Vol. II. p. 415.

παρὰμεινάντων = "who withstood him."

ἐκ τῶν λόγων = "according to the oracles." Compare the force of *ex* in the phrase, "*ex tua sententia*."

καθάρσας δὲ ᾤδε. Thucyd. III. 104, describing the subsequent purification of Delos by the Athenians in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war, agrees entirely with Herodotus.

65. An account of Lacedæmon.

προσέπταιον = "had stumbled against." *Intransitive*.

κακονομώτατοι ἦσαν...καὶ ξέλνοισι ἀπρόσμικτοι, κ.τ.λ. = "they were governed even in former times by the worst laws of almost all the Greeks, but with respect to themselves, and because they admitted no intercourse with strangers." According to Müller (*Dorians*, Vol. II. page 12), "when Herodotus describes the Spartans, before the time of Lycurgus, as being in a state of the greatest anarchy, he can only mean that the original constitution had been overthrown and perverted by external circumstances, until it was restored and renewed by Lycurgus." The words *ξέλνοισι ἀπρόσμικτοι* relate to the prohibition to travel into foreign countries, as well as to receive foreigners, Athenians especially, into their own.

τὸν νῦν κατεστέωτα κόσμον = "the present existing arrangement" (of affairs); literally, "*the now established arrangement*."

ἐπιτροπέσαντα, κ.τ.λ. Müller (*Dorians*, Vol. I. p. 151) observes on this difficult passage: "It appears, however, that the name of Lycurgus was not preserved in any register of the kings; since in that case it would have been impossible that he should have been called by Herodotus the guardian of his nephew *Labias*, the Eurysthenide, by Simonides (who lived in great intimacy with king Pausanias), the son of Prytanis, and the brother of Eunomus the Proclide, and by others the guardian of his nephew Charilaus, had there existed any genealogy of him that was sufficiently accredited." Clinton thinks the text here corrupt.

ἐνωμοτίας, κ.τ.λ. These were military institutions. The *ἐνωμοτία* appears to have consisted originally of 24 men and their chief. The *τριηκὰς* was probably the *thirtieth* part of an *ὥβη* or *φάρπλη*, with which also the *συσσίτια* corresponded. The latter were not peculiar to Sparta, being practised in Carthage; these *syssitia* are supposed to have originated amongst the CEnotrians of South Italy.

66. Spartan designs on Arcadia.

ἀνὰ τε ἔδραμον αὐτίκα, κ.τ.λ. = "and *up* they *sprang* forthwith, and flourished, inasmuch as they were both in a *good* country, and in *considerable number*." Here the English and Greek idioms exactly correspond with each other; and see Herod. VII. 156, and Homer's *Iliad*, VI. 56.

βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες. Bähr thinks that by the term "acorn-eating" the antiquity of the nation is described. See Virg. *Geo.* I. 148:

"Cum jam glandes atque arbuta sacrae
Deficerent silvæ, et victum Dodona negaret."

οἱ δὲ, πέδας, κ.τ.λ. When *two* predicates belong to the same subject Herodotus and Homer use μὲν with the first and οἱ δὲ with the second predicate, as here. See VI. 9.

χρησμφ κιβδήλω = "a counterfeit oracle." See Herod. V. 91, I. 75. κιβδηλος = "clipped or counterfeit" (coin).

ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέατο = "in which (fetters) they had been bound." See Chap. 80, ἐν πέδῃσι δεδέμενον.

67. The Pythian oracle commands the Spartans to bring home the bones of Orestes.

κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν πρότερον, κ.τ.λ. = "from the *beginning* to the *end* of the former war, ever without interruption," &c. κατὰ gets this notion respecting *time* from its cognate notion respecting *place*, "from the *top* to the *bottom*," and so "throughout."

συνεχέως = Lat. "continenter" = "holding on."

θεοπρόπους = θεωροῦς (in Herod.) = "those sent to consult an oracle."

ἐπαγαγομένους ὀστέα = "bring back and *call* to their *aid* the bones (of Orestes)." προσάγεσθαι is to "bring over to one's side."

λευρῇ ἐνὶ χώρῳ. See *Odyss.* VII. 121, where commentators explain by λείψ and ὀμαλῇ.

ἐπιτάρροθος. Its more usual form is ἐπιρροθος, which properly signifies an *auxiliary*; here, however, ἐπιτάρροθος has rather a *middle signification*, and means one who *aids himself against* his enemies, who gains advantage over them. In Homer it is used only of the gods.

ἀπείχον τῆς ἐξευρέσιος οὐδὲν ἔλασσον = "not at all the less did they miss the discovery."

ἐς οὗ. Herodotus uses this form sometimes, instead of ἐς δ, or μέχρις οὗ.

ἀγαθοεργοί. The five Agathoergi, who served the state in missions for the space of a year, were taken out of the 300 knights, the flower of the Spartan youth.

68. Lichas finds the bones of Orestes.

ἐπιμύξης = "intercourse by *treaty*," see Thucyd. V. 35; properly = "conditional intercourse," as from ἐπὶ in its *conditional* sense.

ἐς χαλκήϊον...σίδηρον, κ.τ.λ. The Greek term for a "smith" was drawn from the *metal first used* in early times; χαλκος, "copper," or "bronze." Compare Lucretius, v. 1292:

"Prior æris erat quam ferri cognitus usus."

ὑπὸ δὲ ἀπιστίας, κ.τ.λ. = "under a feeling of incredulity," &c. The notion of the degeneracy of the human frame has prevailed in almost all countries, and has received support from the supposed discovery of bones far exceeding the ordinary stature of man.

ἐμισθοῦτο παρ' οὐκ ἐκδίδοντος = "he tried to hire from (the smith), who *positively* would not let out." Observe here the force of οὐκ instead of μὴ with a participle, μὴ would imply a *supposition or condition*.

ἀνέγνωσε = "persuaded."

69. Cræsus makes a treaty with the Spartans.

ἀνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης = Livy's "sine dolo malo."

δι' ἀγγέλων ἐπεκηρυκεύετο = "held out proposals to them by means of messengers." Compare Thucyd. iv. 38.

χρυσὸν ὠλέοντο—tentative = "tried to purchase gold for themselves."

70. Presents are given on both sides.

ζωδίων = "little animals." Dim. of ζῷον; so in Lat. "animal," with diminutive "animalcula."

71. Sandanis dissuades Cræsus from attacking the Persians.

ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρήσου = "having missed (the sense) of the oracle," i. e. its meaning.

σκυτίνας ἀναξυρίδας. The drawers and other leathern dress were common in Persia before the conquest of Media; after that time they were probably confined to the lower classes. In Elizabeth's time such were very common in Ireland. Compare the Irish song of poor Brian, "who had no breeches to wear, and bought a *sheep's skin* to make him a pair."

πρὸς δέ. Supply τοῦτοις. This preposition and μετὰ are often put without cases by Herodotus as *adverbial* prepositions, as in Homer.

περιέξονται = "they will cling around them;" properly, "they will hold themselves around."

72. The Cappadocians.

μῆκος δόδου εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ, κ.τ.λ. In Bk. iv. 101, the day's journey is reckoned at about 200 stadia; therefore *five days'* journey would amount to 1000 stadia. Now the *shortest* distance from the Mediterranean to the Euxine sea considerably exceeds 2000 stadia. See Rawlinson's *Herod.*

73. The Scythians outrage Cyaxares.

ὑπεξήλθε = "secretly withdrew from (the place)."

ὀργὴν ἄκρος = "hasty in temper." Compare the common expression "uprish."

ἐπάσωντο = "ate of," from πατέομαι.

74. War between the Lydians and Medes.

συμβολῆς = "a conflict," *dashing together*; often in this sense in Herodotus.

τῆς μάχης συνεστρώσης = "when the contest was fairly set on foot." So Homer's *Iliad*, XIV. 96, πολέμοιο συνεσταδὸς καὶ αὐτῆς.

Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος, κ.τ.λ. Clinton believes the right date of this eclipse to be that assigned by Hales, B.C. 603, May 17, in the fifteenth year of Alyattes, and eight years before the death of Cyaxares.

Συέννεσις. A title of the kings of Cilicia, as Pharaoh was of those of Egypt.

ἐγνώσαν = "decided." Compare the double force of "*sententia*" in Latin and "judgment" in English.

ἄνευ γὰρ ἀναγκαιῆς, κ.τ.λ. = "for without the strong tie of family connection even strong conventions will not hold together." With ἀνάγκη here compare the Lat. "*necessitudo*" and "*necessarii*."

ὁμοχροῖται = "the *surface* of the skin." See IV. 70, and Tacitus, *Ann.* XII. 47, "*levi ictu cruorem eliciunt*."

75. Cræsus passes the Halys.

πρὸς ἑωυτοῦ...εἶναι = "was in his own favour."

ἄνωθεν = "nearer the source of the stream."

ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα = "into its former course."

76. Cræsus captures Pteria.

κατὰ Σινώπην πόλιν = "on the *same* line with the city Sinope."

τοὺς κλήρους = "the allotments." "*lots*" is the American and Canadian term for "plots of ground," i. e. "farms."

τὰς περιουκίδας. Supply πόλεις.

77. Cræsus returns to Sardis.

ἡμεφθεῖς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος, κ.τ.λ. = "being dissatisfied with his own army considering their numbers."

ἐπειρᾶτο ἐπιῶν for ἐπιέναι. This is the frequent construction of *πειράμαι*.

Λαβύνητος. The last king of Babylon, called Nabonadius and Nabonidus, supposed to be the Belshazzar of Daniel.

ἐλπίσας. Used by Herodotus indifferently of good and evil.

78. Prodigy at Sardis.

ταῦτα ἐπιλεγομένων Κροίσῳ = "while Cræsus was *considering* these matters." ἐπιλεγ. literally = "*collecting his thoughts upon*."

Τελμησσέων. Cicero, *de Div.* I. 41: "Telmessus in Caria est, qua in urbe excellit haruspicum disciplina."

79. Cyrus follows in the track of Cræsus.

πρῆγμα δ' οἱ εἶναι = "that it was his business."

ἐληλύθεε. Here the pluperfect is evidently used for the aorist.

80. Battle of Sardis.

ψιλόν = "bare (of trees)."

Ἵλλος, also called *Phrygius*. It falls into the Hermus from the north-east.

τῷ δὴ τι καὶ, κ.τ.λ. = "by which the Lydian expected to gain some considerable advantage."

81. Cræsus sends for his allies.

προερέοντες = "to give notice beforehand." Observe the future notion in ἐρέω and its compounds.

ἀπείς Ionic = Attic ἀφείς.

82. A Lacedæmonian war with the Argives.

συμμαχίας. The abstract for the concrete form συμμαχούς.

περὶ χώρου καλεομένου Θυρέης. Thucyd. II. 27, Ἡ δὲ Θυρεάτις γῆ, μεθορία τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ Λακωνικῆς ἐστίν. IV. 56, ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ Θυρέαν, ἣ ἐστὶ μὲν τῆς Κυνourίας γῆς καλουμένης, μεθορία δὲ τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ Λακωνικῆς· νεμόμενοι δὲ αὐτὴν ἔδοσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι Αἰγινήταις ἐκπεσοῦσαν ἐνοικεῖν.

πρὸς ἐσπέρην Ἀργείων. On account of its apparent position when approached from the sea.

ἡ Κυθηρὴ νῆσος. This is elsewhere (I. 105, VII. 235) called by Herodotus, as by others, τὰ Κύθηρα, now "Cérigo."

Ἵθρυάδης. This story is told by several authors; amongst others compare Ovid, *Fast.* II. 663:

"Si tu signâsses olim Thyreatida terram:
Corpora non leto missa trecenta forent.
Nec foret Othryades congestis tectus in armis
O quantum patriæ sanguinis ille dedit."

ἐπανάγκες κομῶντες = "wearing long hair by fixed custom."

ἀπὸ τούτου κομᾶν. Supply νόμον ἔθεντο from the preceding clause.

συλλοχιτέων. Bähr observes that the loss of his comrades must have been the more painful to Othryades, as the λόχος was not only a military bond of union, but also connected individuals in private life. See Müller's *Dorians*, Vol. II. p. 237.

καταχρήσασθαι = Lat. "confecisse," and used as Herodotus sometimes uses διαχρήσασθαι.

83. Siege of Sardis.

ὅμως = "notwithstanding" (they were at war with the Argives). See Thucyd. v. 61, vi. 70.

84. The taking of Sardis.

οὐ γὰρ ἦν δειδόν...μή = "for there was no dread that it should be (taken)."

Μήλῃς. The last king of Lydia but one of the Heraclids.

τὸν λέοντα. Creuzer explains this on astronomical principles, and considers the lion as a sacred emblem, with the old kings of Lydia, of their great ancestor Hercules, whom he identifies with the Sun. Hence he accounts for the golden lion (i. 50), presented by Cræsus to the temple of Delphi.

δικασάντων = "having decided."

ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Τιμόλου, κ.τ.λ. = "now it is the part of the city facing the mountain Tmolus."

οὕτω δὴ Σάρδιες, κ.τ.λ. A different account of the capture of Sardis is given by Ctesias. According to Xenophon's *Cyropæd.* vii. 2, 3, it was taken by means of a Persian, who had formerly been slave to one of the garrison in the citadel, and who had learnt the means of descending to the river and of returning to the fortress. κατ' αὐτὸν = "after his example."

85. The son of Cræsus, on seeing his father's danger, wonderfully recovers his power of speech.

κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ Κροῖσον = "with regard to Cræsus himself."

ἐπιεικὴς = "of good capacity."

εὐεστοῖ = "prosperity." See ix. 81, and Æsch. *c. Thebas*, 171.

τὸ πᾶν ἐς αὐτὸν = "(had done) all in his power;" literally = "all that was in him." Compare Lat. "pro virili parte."

ἀμφίς. Buttman in his *Lexilogus* (page 102, English Translation) observes on this passage; "The construction is best thus, τόδε σοι λώϊον (ἔστιν) ἀμφίς εἶναι = 'it is better for thee to be without it,' i. e. ἀμφίς scilicet αὐτοῦ; literally, 'far away from it,' like ἀμφίς φυλόπιδος above at sect. 6." ἔρρηξε = "burst into utterance." So Virgil, "rumpere vocem."

86. Cræsus captured.

θεῶν δτεω δὴ = "Deorum nescio cui." δὴ makes the definite notion more definite, and an indefinite more indefinite.

ἀνευεικόμενον = "with deep-drawn breath." See Büttmann's, *Lexil.* sub voce.

τίνα τοῦτον ἐπικαλεῖτο = "who this was whom he called upon."

τὸν ἂν ἐγὼ...λόγους ἐλθεῖν. This seems to be the sense, viz. "one whose conversation I should consider of more value to all kings than large sums of money."

87. Apollo saves Cræsus.

ἐκ...αἰθρῆς = "after clear weather."

καταραγῆναι = "burst down upon them" like a storm.

ἀνέγνωσε = "persuaded;" literally = "influenced your mind up to that (point)."

ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἔπρηξα, κ.τ.λ. = "I have done these things, urged by your good fortune and by my own ill fortune."

88. Cyrus pities Cræsus.

συννόη ἐχόμενος = "cogitando implicitus" = "wrapped up in anxious thought."

φέρουσί τε καὶ ἄγουσι = a formula expressive of plundering maraudings or raids = Lat. "ferunt (*res*) et agunt" (*animalia*).

89. Cyrus places confidence in Cræsus.

ὃ τι οἱ ἐνορώη. Supply πλέον.

εἰ τι ἐνορέω πλέον = "if I perceive in it anything of greater advantage." Compare Soph. *Ed. Tyr.* 918, ἐς πλέον ποιῶ, and *Antig.* 268, οὐδὲν ἦν ἐρευνῶσιν πλέον.

ἐπίδοξα γενέσθαι. Lobeck remarks that ἐπίδοξος (the same in sense with προσδόκιμος) is often joined with the aorist in the sense of the future. See Herod. vi. 12.

ἐπαναστησόμενον = "will rise up in revolt against you."

90. Cyrus's wrath against Apollo.

ἀναρτημένον σεῦ = "since you are despised." Here the genitive absolute is used, instead of the nominative, in construction with αἰτέο δόσω, &c. See I. 3, τοὺς δὲ, προῖσχομένων, κ.τ.λ.

ὃ, τι οἱ τοῦτο ἐπηγορεύων, κ.τ.λ. = "what was this complaint against the God which led him to make the request?"

κατέβαινε αὐτὺς παραιτούμενος = "and he came down to this request again."

ἐπείναι οἱ τῷ θεῷ, κ.τ.λ. = "that it might be in his power to reproach the gods with these matters."

91. The oracle defends itself.

τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν, κ.τ.λ. See *Æsch. Prom.* 518—20.

πέμπτου γονέος. "Cræsus was the fifth descendant from Gyges; comprising in the number five the first and the last. The kings of Lydia, of the house of the Mermnadæ, succeeded each other in the following order: Gyges, Ardys, Sadyattes, Alyattes, Cræsus. The method of genealogic reckoning among the Greeks was this: in computing the number of ancestors and descendants, they included the two extremes; the first of the ancestors and the last of the descendants." Larcher.

δόλω γυναικίῳ ἐπισπόμενος = "following up a woman's treacherous device."

Λοξίω = "the declarer" of oracles, from λέγειν, as προφήτης Διὸς in the *Eumenides* of *Æschylus*.

οὐκ οἷός τε ἐγένετο, κ.τ.λ. = "but it was not possible to draw aside the Fates." Grote remarks, "here the sovereignty of the Mœræ, and the subordinate agency of the gods, are unequivocally set forth." *Hist. of Greece*, Vol. iv. 262.

96. Deioces makes himself a monarch of the Medes.

Διόκης—called Arphaxad in the Book of Judith.

ἐρασθεὶς τυραννίδος = "being enamoured of the tyranny."

δικαιοσύνην ἐπιθέμενος ἤσκει = "having set himself to it, he went on practising justice."

τοὺς τρόπους = "his turn," i. e. disposition.

περιπίπτοντες ἀδίκουσι γνώμησι = "stumbling over unjust decisions."

δικασόμενοι = "when going to law." See *Odyss.* M. 439.

97. The rise of Deioces by popularity.

πλεῖνος δὲ αἰεὶ, κ.τ.λ. for πλεύνων γιγνομένων, κ.τ.λ. = "and those who were in the habit of going to him, becoming greater in number, from time to time." See *Thuc.* VII. 48.

προκατίζων = "sitting in front (of the city, at the gates)," or = "sitting openly in public," for the purpose of adjudication.

οὐτ' ἔφη δικᾶν ἔτι = "he said that he would act as a judge no longer." δικᾶν = δικάσειν (*Attic future*).

οὐ γὰρ οἱ λυσιτέλειν, κ.τ.λ. = "for it would not pay him, (thus) utterly neglecting his own affairs, to be deciding suits for his neighbours throughout the whole of the day."

περὶ τῶν κατηκόντων = "about those matters, which concern them." See *VIII.* 19.

98. Deioces elected king of the Medes.

πολλὸς προβαλλόμενος = "was particularly put forward."

ἐν αὐτῇ χώρῃ = "in that particular part of the country where."

Compare the Latin *local* genitives, "ubi loci," "ubi gentium," &c.

ἔσσαν *Ionic* = ἦσσαν.

Ἀγβάτανα—founded about B.C. 700, called Ecbatane in the Book of Judith; now "*Hamadan*." It was the *spring* residence of the Persian kings, as "*Susa*" was their *summer*, and Babylon their *winter* residence.

ἔτερον—supply τεῖχος.

Ἀθηνέων κύκλον. See *Thuc.* II. 13.

99. Customs of Deioces.

δι' ἀγγέλων δὲ πάντα χρεῖσθαι. Supply αὐτῷ = "that they should consult him in all matters through the *instrumentality* of messengers." διὰ with the accusative = "propter," "on account of."

γελᾶν τε καὶ πτύειν, κ.τ.λ. "and he considered it very disgraceful for any one to laugh or spit in his presence as (they are wont to do) even in the presence of all others *without exception*."

περὶ ἑωυτὸν ἐσέμνυε, κ.τ.λ. = "and he threw this cloak of majesty around himself."

ἑτεροῦς = "of another nature."

measures among the Lacedæmonians. Observe that Homer *never* mentions coin.

κοψάμενοι ἐχρήσαντο. Compare the Latin expression “*percutere nummos*,” and mark that the antecedent fact is expressed in the *participial* form, and its *consequence* in the purely *verbal* form: “*they struck off the coin, and then used it.*”

κάπηλοι=“*retailers*,” ἔμποροι=“*wholesale dealers*,” and so “*merchants*.” See Arnold’s *Rome*, Vol. I. p. 90.

Τυρσηνὴν ἀποικίσαι. The Roman writers acknowledge this (Horace to Mæcenas, *Sat.* I. 6. 1):

“Non quia, Mæcenas, Lydorum quidquid Etruscos
Incoluit fines.”

Virgil has “*Lydius Tybris*” (*Æn.* II. 782), and see Tacitus (*Annal.* IV. 55). *In favour* of the Lydian origin of the Etruscans the following points have been urged: 1. Herodotus’ statement is valuable, because he was well acquainted with Lydian history; 2. He was also well acquainted with that of Magna Græcia; 3. The Sardians in Tiberius’ time asserted this common origin; 4. The Etrurian and Lydian languages of the same Phœnician stamp; 5. The similarity of their impure and orgiastic religions; 6. The same style of funeral monuments, with similarity of many customs. See however Mr Gray Hamilton’s excellent treatise on the Etruscans, and also Müller.

κύβων=“*dice*” (with all six sides marked). ἀστραγάλων=“*dice*” (with four flat sides), properly, “*ankle-bones*.”

παισσοί=“*draughts*.” Mentioned by Homer in the *Odyssey*; supposed to have been invented by Palamedes.

δύων δέοντα εἴκοσι. Eighteen years’ duration of a famine is *nowhere* borne out by history. It has a *mystic* look.

ἐπὶ μᾶλλον=“*to a greater degree*.” So IV. 181; Thucyd. I. 88, ἐπὶ μείζον.

δύο μοίρας διελόντα, κ.τ.λ. instead of Ἀνδρὸς πάντας εἰς δύο μοίρας διελόντα.

ἐπίπλοα=“*moveable property of any kind*.”

95. History of Cyrus.

ἐπιδίζηται=“*proceeds to inquire about*.”

τριφασίας ἄλλας, κ.τ.λ. Ctesias, Xenophon, and Æschylus (*Persæ*), all differ from Herodotus.

ἔρεα εἴκοσι καὶ πεντακόσια. These 520 years almost agree with the 526 of Berosus; and widely differ from the 1360 years’ duration assigned by Ctesias and others to the Assyrian empire. See the remarks on Sardanapalus in Dr Smith’s *Dict. of Biogr. and Clinton’s Chronol.* Vol. I. pp. 257—283 (*Fasti Hellenici*).

δσον δὲ ἐνέδωκαν, κ.τ.λ. (supply πᾶν) = "and all that these (Fates) granted (literally, "gave in") he won, and presented as a favour to him (i. e. Cræsus)."

ἐπανεβάλετο = "he got put off to the last." Observe the force of the mid. voice.

συνελαβε = "comprehended;" i. e. "put (the sense well) together."

ἀπήγγειλαν = Lat. "enuntiabant" = "announced in detail."

92. More offerings of Cræsus to the shrine of Hellas.

τρίπους χρύσεος. There were two sorts of *tripods*; one in which wine was mixed with water; this was not to be placed on the fire, whence called ἄπυρος; and the other to be placed on the fire for heating water, like our "kettle" or "caldron."

τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ. See I. 52, V. 59, VIII. 134.

Προμηθεύς. See VIII. 37. Athena derived this name from the situation of her temple, forming as it were a vestibule to that of Apollo. She was also styled Πρόνοια, from her attribute of *prudence* or *forethought*.

ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι τῇσι Μιλησίων. The Branchidæ were a family of priests who had the charge of the temple and oracle of Apollo at Didymi, in the district of Miletus. Observe that οἱ Βραγχίδαι = "the priests," but αἱ Βραγχίδαι = the place so called.

ἐπὶ κνάφου ἔλκων = "pulling him to pieces on a rack." Literally, κνάφος is the "fuller's comb."

93. Topography of Lydia.

θώματα δὲ γῇ Λυδίῃ, κ.τ.λ. This shows that Herodotus did not know Xanthus' treatise on Lydia, as that author mentions the wonders of volcanic agency and other natural phenomena (see Dählman).

Τμώλου, now "Bour Dag." From this chain of mountains the river Pactolus rises.

οἱ ἀγοραῖοι = "the hucksters." Compare the Lat. "circumforanci."

οὔροι = "cippi." Sepulchral pillars.

δήμου αἱ θυγατέρες = "the daughters of the common people," who, being poor, wish thus to acquire a dowry; or = "the daughters of the old (native) district," who thus worshipped Cybele.

ἐς ὃ ἂν συνοικήσωσι = "until they shall have married;" literally = "taken to house-keeping."

94. The Lydians the first coiners of money.

παραπλησίοισι...καί. After adjectives expressing similitude καί is frequently used in Greek, as "atque" in Latin.

πρώτοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων, κ.τ.λ. Some say Phido, king of Argos, coined the first silver money at Ægina, with the figure of a tortoise on, B. C. 750; and to him (VI.) Herodotus ascribes the invention of weights and

100. The state of Deioeces.

ἦν τὸ δίκαιον φυλάσσων χαλεπὸς = "he was strict in maintaining the right."

ἐδίκαλεν = "he used to punish." See Thuc. VIII. 66.

κατάσκοποι = "the king's eyes" (οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ (spies)).

κατήκοι = "the king's ears" (οἱ ὠτακούσται), by means of this secret police the king obtained his information on all affairs. See I. 114, VIII. 130.

101. Government of Deioeces.

συνέστρεψε = Lat. "conglobavit" = "combined into one body."

Παρηγᾶκηνοι. These were on the mountains dividing Persia and Media.

102. Phraortes succeeds his father Deioeces.

οὐκ ἀπεχρᾶτο = "was not content."

καὶ Ἀσσυρίων, κ.τ.λ. "Assyria, in the idea of Herodotus (and which is further explained by Strabo), comprehended not only *Assyria proper* (by which is to be understood the country beyond the Tigris, and of which *Nineveh* was the capital), but *Syria* and *Mesopotamia* likewise, as well as *Babylonia*; for our author says, "Babylon and the rest of the Assyrians." Compare 106, 178.

ἐωντῶν εὖ ἤκουρες = "getting on well in their resources."

103. Cyaxares succeeds in the government.

ἐλόχισε κατὰ τέλεα = "arranged by companies." Before his time, however, David had organized the Hebrew army, and Solomon had introduced chariots and horsemen.

νύξ ἡ ἡμέρην ἐγένετο = "the day became night." The article points out the subject of the sentence, the predicate being *without it*. This circumstance is mentioned as a fact in Chap. 74.

Σκυθῶν στρατός. The *Chaldeans*, according to Heeren.

104. Distance from Colchis to Media.

τριήκοντα ἡμερέων—ὁδός. Observe that Herodotus is here speaking not of that part of the Palus Mæotis nearest to Colchis, but of the mouth of the Mæotis, the seat of the ancient commerce.

Σάσπειρες. Occupied the north of Armenia, and west of Georgia, about the upper part of the river Cyrus or Kouza. See Chap. 110, and III. 94, IV. 37 and 40.

Καυκάσιον ὄρος. This route of the defile between the Caspian Sea and Caucasus is now called "Derbend," and was taken by the Huns and afterwards by Peter the Great of Russia.

105. The Scythians invade Egypt.

Ψαμμίτιχος. This king ascended the throne B.C. 670, according to Clinton.

Ἀσκάλωνι πόλι=“Ascalon” on the coast, 30 miles S.W. of Jerusalem. The other Philistine cities were Gath, Gaza, Ekron, and Ashdod.

παρεξελθόντων κ.τ.λ.=“passed out and along the coast, without doing any harm.” ἀσινέων being active.

Κύπριοι. So Horace of Venus: “Sic te Diva potens Cypri.”

106. Cyaxares conquers the Scythians and takes Nineveh.

ἐπρησσον=“they continued to exact from each that which they laid upon them, as a contribution.”

Νῖνον εἶλον. See below, Chap. 178.

ἐν ἑτέροισι λόγοισι. So in Chap. 184 he has τῶν ἐν τοῖσι Ἀσσυριοῖσι λόγοισι μνήμην ποιήσομαι. As Herodotus does not give an account of the capture of Nineveh by the Medes or of the kings of Babylon in any of his works now extant, the general opinion is, that he wrote a separate history of Assyria; an opinion supported by Aristotle (*Hist. Animal.* VIII. 20).

107. Astyages succeeds: his dream.

ἐπικατακλύσαι=“besides overflowing.” Observe the force of the prepositions in compos.

τρόπου ἡσυχίου=“of a quiet turn.”

108. Astyages determines to kill the son of his daughter Mandane.

ταῦτα δὴ ὦν, κ.τ.λ.=“quite on his guard against these things.”

παραχρήση=“neglect.”

σὺ ἐωντῷ περιπέσης=“stumble over yourself,” i.e. come to some disastrous downfall.

109. The device of Harpagus.

κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. Some would supply πολλήν or κόσμησιν, as of cognate signification with κεκοσμημένον. Bähr proposes ὁδὸν to supply the ellipsis, as in Chap. 67. He renders the passage thus, “Quum ipsi traderetur puerulus ornatus (eo consilio) ut ad mortem duceretur, scilicet ut (ornatus pro more, dein) viam ad mortem duceretur.”

ἄπαις ἔρσεως γόνου=“without male issue.” Adjectives implying the absence or want of a thing govern the genitive.

110. The child given to Mitrdates, the royal herdsman.

ἐπιτηδεωτάτας=“most convenient for the purpose.”

πρὸς Σασπειρων=“towards the Saspeires.” As above, πρὸς βορέῳ τε ἀνέμου=“towards the northern wind.”

ἄπεδος (ἄμα—πέδον)=“on a level with the plain,” and so level. Compare ἰσόπεδος, ὁμόπεδος, ὁμαλός.

σε διαχρήσεσθαι. Supply αὐτὸν=“that he (the king) will have you executed.” Compare Lat. “conficere.” See I. 24.

111. The conduct of Mitradates.

τῷ δ' ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνή = "*Fittingly for that* (emergency) his wife too was every day on *the point* of being confined, and then she happens by providence to bring forth when the herdsman (her husband) was off to the city." Observe that ἄρα is not very common in Herodotus, who uses it generally in its *first derivative sense*, from ἄρω, "to fit."

κατὰ δαίμονα = Lat. "*divinitus*." Compare the phrases κατὰ τύχην, θεῶν τύχην.

ἐν φροντίδι = "in *anxious* thought."

μήτε...κοτε γενέσθαι. Supply ὅφελε. The full construction would be καὶ δ' οὐκ ὥφελε γένεσθαι.

κεκοσμημένον, κ.τ.λ. = "richly apparelled in gold and embroidered robes." See III. I.

ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενόν μοι = "had *laid these things* upon me."

νῦν τε ὅδε ἐστὶ = "and see here he is," producing the child at the word. See opening of next chapter.

112. The device of Cyno, his wife.

μέγα τε καὶ εὐεῖδές ἐδν = "being *really* large and fair to look upon." *Stature* was an inseparable element in the Greek notion of *beauty*. Ten-nyson, on this principle, says:

"A daughter of the gods, *divinely tall*,
And most *divinely fair*."

See Homer, *passim*.

λαβομένη τῶν γονάτων = "having caught his knees." This is the *partitive genitive*, as a *part only* is acted on by the transitive verb.

ἔχρηξε = "she *continued* to beseech (her husband) by no *means* to expose it (the child)." Observe the change from the aorist to the *imperfect*, to mark the *continuance* of the action. ἔχρηξε, literally = "*she wanted*."

οἷός τε εἶναι = "that he was not *capable*," and so *able*.

ἀλώσεαι ἀδικέων = "will be *convicted* of acting unjustly." See on I. 5.

113. The son of Mandane preserved, and the dead child of Cyno exposed.

καὶ αὐτίκα ἐποίησε ταῦτα = "and *forthwith* he proceeded to do these things."

προβόσκων = "under-herdsmen," or, "those who *drive the herd forwards* to the pasture." It is a very unusual word.

αὐτοῦ = νεκροῦ.

δορυφόρων. Rather a *Greek term* than an Asiatic. See the case of *Pisistratus* above, and observe that on Chap. 117. Herodotus uses the Asiatic term εὔνουχοι.

εἶδ' τε διὰ τούτων = "and he saw by *means* of these." These were the *king's eyes* (ὀφθαλμοί). See next chapter and Chap. 117.

ὄνομα ἄλλο κοῦ τι, κ.τ.λ.=“having some other name given to it, and not the name of Cyrus.” His name according to some was *Agradates*.

114. The youth of Cyrus.

ἐξέφηνέ μιν = “fully disclosed him.” With this whole account compare the myth of Romulus and Remus taken up by Faustulus, the king’s herdsman, as told in the opening of Livy’s First Book.

ἐπαίξε = “he used to play.” Compare the early career of Napoleon I. as a captain of the boys at his military academy.

τὸν δέ κου τινὰ = “and some one of them, I should fancy.”

εἰς δὴ τούτων τῶν παιδίων = “now, observe, one of these children.” The *nominative absolute*.

διαλαβεῖν = “to take him by the middle,” or = “to take him in both hands,” or = “take him from their midst,” and so putting him by himself, and so like “putting into Coventry.” Rawlinson translates, = “to take into custody.”

κατελθὼν = “having returned.”

ἀποικτιζέτο = “went on to complain loudly” of what he met with at the hands of Cyrus.

ἀνόρσια = “unfitting, unsuitable.” α = “not” and ἄρω = “to fit.” See Blomfield’s *Gloss. in Agam.* 494.

115. Cyrus brought before Astyages, and recognised.

ἀεικείη τοῦτῃδε περισπείν = “handled him with such unseemliness as this.”

ἐς δὲ ἔλαβε τὴν δίκην = “until he received his due,” i. e. *punishment meet for him*.

116. The confession of Harpagus.

ἐσθῆι ἀνάγνωσις αὐτοῦ. Compare Livy’s language on the parallel case of Romulus and Remus (I. 5): “comparando et ætatem eorum, et ipsum minime servilem indolem, tetigerat animum memoria nepotum.”

καὶ οἱ δὲ τε χαρακτήρ τοῦ προσώπου, κ.τ.λ. = “and it seemed to him that the expression of his (Cyrus’) face bore a resemblance to himself” (i. e. to Astyages).

ἡ ὑπόκρισις ἐλευθερωτέρη = “and his bearing (or address) was most like a freeman’s.” Not “delivery,” as some take it.

δὲ τε χρόνος τῆς ἐκθέσιος, κ.τ.λ. = “and the time of the exposure seemed to go along with (i. e. agree with) the boy’s age.” Compare the words of Livy on Romulus and Remus (I. 5): “nam et expositos jussu regis infantis sciebat, et tempus, quo ipse eos sustulisset, ad id ipsum congruere.”

μόγις δὲ δὴ κοτε ἀνευχεῖς = “but some time at length having recovered himself.”

ἀνάγκας = “bonds.” διεξῆι = “he went right through it.”

117. Confession of Harpagus.

τέω δὴ μόρω τὸν παῖδα, κ.τ.λ.=“what was the exact fate by which you dispatched the boy.”

ὅκως—ποιήσω—καλ—εἶην=“how I *should* act, and how I *might* be.”

αὐθέντης=“an *actual* murderer.”

118. Astyages disguises his anger against Harpagus.

οἱ ἐνείχεε χόλον=“the anger which he *cherished* against him;” literally like the common vulgar expression, “to have it in for one;” thus nursing vengeance in one’s breast. Compare St Mark vi. 19, ἡ δὲ Ἡρωδιάς ἐνείχεν αὐτῷ.

κατέβαινε λέγων=“*finished* by saying.” See I. 90, κατέβαινε παραιτούμενος.

ἐπαλλόγητο. This is one of the few exceptions in classic Greek in which the *reduplication* is omitted; in this case a reduplication form would have been peculiarly *harsh*.

διαβεβλημένος=“having been *accused*.” From the notion of *accusing falsely* comes διαβολή=“*slander*,” or “false accusation;” and our great accuser the Devil is thus called ὁ διάβολος.

οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ἐποιεύμην=“I was not wont to make light of it.” See III. 154, and compare the similar expressions, ἐν κέρδει ποιεῖσθαι, II. 124, VI. 13, and ἐν ὁμοίῳ ποιεῖσθαι, VII. 138.

τῆς τύχης εὐ μετεστεώσης=“fortune *having changed* her position for the better.”

σώστρα=“thank-offerings for *deliverance* or *preservation*.”

119. Astyages slays the son of Harpagus.

ἐς δέον=“as it ought.”

ἐπὶ τύχησι χρηστῇσι=“with good omens.”

τὰ δὲ ἔψησε, κ.τ.λ.=“and some portions of his flesh he boiled, and having had it well-dressed.”

τράπεζαι. See Nitzsch. *Od.* I. p. 28, who shows that in early times each guest had before him a separate table.

ἐντὸς τε ἑωυτοῦ γίγνεται=“and becomes his own master,” “returns to himself.” Compare our own expressions, “in his mind,” “out of his mind.”

120. The Magians consider there is no risk.

τῇ. Supply ὁδῷ=“quâ ratione”=“in what way or manner.”

ἐκ προνοῆς=“consulto;” properly=“from *fore-thought*.”

παρὰ σμικρὰ γὰρ...κεχώρηκε=“had come to little.”

καὶ τὰ γε τῶν ὄνειράτων ἐχόμενα=“and those things connected with dreams.”

ταύτῃ πλείστος γνώμην εἰμι=“I am most inclined to think.”

121. Cyrus sent to Persia.

ὄψιν...οὐ τελέην = "a vision which imported nothing."

οὐ κατὰ Μιτραδάτην = "not after the manner of Mitrاداتes."

122. Origin of the fable that Cyrus had been suckled by a bitch.

αὐτίκα τότε = "immediately upon (his birth)."

ἥϊέ τε ταύτην αἰνέων, κ.τ.λ. = "and he went on praising this (woman) all along, and Cyno (her name) was everything to him in his discourse;" i.e. he talked of *nothing but her*.

κατέβαλον φάτων = "they laid the foundation of the report." Compare the story of *Lupa* and the suckling of Romulus and Remus in Livy, Bk. I. cap. 4.

123. The revenge of Harpagus.

ἐπιτρεφόμενον. Supply τιμωρὸν from τιμωρίην.

κατέργαστο. Used passively, as in VII. 53; Soph. *Ced. Tyr.* 1369.

οὕτω δὴ = "observe, in this case."

λαγὸν μηχανησάμενος = "having had a hare prepared."

οὐδὲν ἀποτίλας = "without having plucked off any of the fur."

ἄτε = Lat. "*utpote*" assigns the most probable reason.

ἀπὸ γλώσσης = "*e verbo*" = "by word of mouth."

124. Harpagus urges Cyrus to revolt.

ἐπελέγετο = "he read it over," or, "collected his thoughts upon it," and so "considered it over."

κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν, κ.τ.λ. = "as far as regards the earnest desire of this man, you are a *dead man*; on the other hand, as far as regards the gods and myself, *you survive*."

πρὸς σέο = "on your side."

125. Cyrus enters into his plans.

ἐφρόντιζε = "he went on thinking anxiously."

ἀλὶν, Doric = ἐκκλησία = "an assembly." The thing and word were essentially peculiar to the Doric race.

ἔφη λέγων = "he went on to say."

Πασαργάδαι, in the south of Persia, probably dwellers in the capital of the same name, built by Cyrus to commemorate his great victory over Astyages and the neighbouring country. The name is now corrupted into the modern "*Pasa*" or "*Feza*."

Γερμάνιοι. These are supposed to be the Carmanii, the inhabitants of Carmania, or the modern Kerman, in the east of Persia.

Σαγάρτιοι. Supposed to have held the north-west of Media, at the foot of the Zagros Mons, a little south of the Sparta or Martianes Lacus. By Rennell they are supposed to be *Tartar* tribes.

126. Cyrus' device.

πάντη = "in every direction or way" (supply ὁδῶ).

ὧν τε καὶ σιτίοισι. Supply δεξιόμενος.

ἐπεὶ τε... ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν = "after they had done supper." See II. 78, VI. 129. So the preposition ἐκ is used by Eurip. *Hec.* 915, ἡμὸς ἐκ δείπνων ὕπνος.

πολλὸν... τὸ μέσον. Eurip. *Alcestis*, 917, πολλὸ γὰρ τὸ μέσον. Where the Scholiast interprets it as that which lies between the old and recent *hap* (τύχην). See Herod. IX. 82.

ἐμέο πείθεσθαι. The genitive for the dative; this is not uncommon with πείθεσθαι in Herodotus.

ὥς ὧν ἐχόντων ὦδε—"since these things have themselves in this way" = Lat. "quæ quum ita sint;" or closer still = "quæ quum ita se habeant."

127. The revolt begins.

δεινὸν ποιούμενοι = "considering it a dreadful thing." See I. 119, II. 133, II. 161, VII. 1.

πρήσσοντα ταῦτα = "engaged in these intrigues." Thucydides uses πράσσειν in the same sense. I. 128, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ τὰ πρὸς βασιλεία πράγματα πράσσειν.

θεοβλαβῆς = "damaged in intellect by God," and so "demented." See VIII. 127.

128. Capture of Astyages.

ἀνεσκολόπισε = (ἀνεσταύρωσε, I. 9, III. 159) = "impaired."

129. His reply to the insulting Harpagus.

κατέχαιρε. So VII. 239 (= "was exceedingly glad"). A very rare word.

σκοπῶν = "looking to" the supper prepared for him by the cruel Astyages.

ἐθόλυνσε. Supply δείπνον.

ὃ τι εἴη ἡ ἐκείνου δουλοσύνη. See in VI. 67, a similar question addressed by Lestychides to *Demantus*, ὁκοῶν τι εἴη τὸ ἀρchein μετὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν;

περιβεῖναι = "to put a diadem around or on one's brows." But περιβαλεῖν = "to invest with the royal robe."

130. The Median supremacy had lasted 128 years.

ἐπ' ἔτα τριήκοντα, κ.τ.λ. Clinton, in his *Fasti Hellenici*, I. p. 260, well observes, "These 128 years terminated at the defeat of Astyages, B.C. 559. They commenced then 559 + 128 = 687 B.C. in the 23rd year of the independence of the Medes. He therefore considered the period to begin after the regal government had been settled, perhaps after the

anni ἀβασλευτου had expired; and to include the last 31 years of the government of Deioeces. The Median empire lasted 128 years, B.C. 687—560, *excluding* from the account a period of 28 years, B.C. 634—607, within the interval, during which years the Scythians occupied Asia. The 53 years then of Deioeces are divided into two portions: 22 years of his government before he was appointed king, and 31 years of his reign after the kingdom was established."

ὑπέκνυαν="bent under the yoke."

καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Δαρείου. This event happened in the year B.C. 409, in the reign of Darius Nothus.

131. The religion of the early Persians.

ἀνθρωποφύεας="of a human nature."

Διτ. Called "Ormuzd" by the Persians.

τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες="calling all the vault of heaven Zeus." So Horace, "sub Jove frigido"—"under the cold air."

ἐπιμεμαθήκασιν="they had learned in addition." Malcolm (*History of Persia*, Vol. I. p. 191) observes, "It is evident that Herodotus published his work from information that referred to a period prior to the establishment of the religion of Zoroaster, as they certainly had temples after that event. This religion was introduced in the reign of Gushtasp or Darius Hystaspes; and his son, Isfandear, the father of Ardishen Diraydust (Artaxerxes Longimanus of the Greeks) was the greatest propagator of its tenets, and consequently a great builder of temples of fire. But it is still probable, that even in the lifetime of Herodotus, who was born in 484 B.C., the religion of Zoroaster was not completely introduced into Persia; and his information was probably from those who professed the faith which that of Zoroaster ultimately supplanted."

132. Persian customs.

τῶν δὲ ὡς ἐκάστω θύειν θέλει="accordingly as he (the sacrificer) would sacrifice to any one of the gods."

διαμιστύλας="having cut up into small pieces." A word of very frequent occurrence in Homer.

ὑποπάσας ποίην ὡς ἀπαλωτάτην="having strewed beneath the tenderest grass (possible to get)."

ἐπισχῶν δὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον="holding on for a brief time." The accusative here is not governed by the verb, which is *intransitive*, but is the accusative of *duration* of time.

133. Celebration of birth-days among the Persians.

ἀπασέων="of all days, without exception." Lat. "*cunctarum*," as opp. to "*omnium*"="all generally."

τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων="the smaller cattle." The *partitive* genitive.

μεθυσκόμενοι, κ.τ.λ. Compare Tacitus, *Germania* 22: "De pace denique et bello plerumque in conviviiis consultant, tanquam nullo

magis tempore ad magnas cogitationes incalescat animus...Deliberant, dum fingere nesciunt: constituunt, dum errare non possunt."

ἐπιφορήμασι="those things *customarily brought in after* (dinner)," and so "dessert." Observe that the word comes from φορέω="to be accustomed to carry." The frequentative of φέρω.

134. The etiquette of different ranks.

φιλέουσι τοῖς στόμασι="they kiss each other on their lips." The local dative.

προσκυνεῖ τὸν ἕτερον="he does *obseisance* to the other;" (from προσ—κυνών, "to fawn on one like a dog").

κατὰ λόγον προβαλόντες="advancing forwards *in proportion*."

τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντέχεσθαι="to cling closely to valour." The notion is evidently connected with "*holding oneself against* a thing," to insure a better hold of it.

135. The polygamy of the Persians.

προστένται="take to themselves," i.e. *adopt* (mid. voice).

τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους θώρηκας. These were made of *linen*, quilted into a thick hard fabric, and *scaled with metal* (see VII. 61, and IX. 22).

κουριδίας γυναικας="wedded wives." See V. 18 and VI. 138. See Buttman on κουρίδιος.

136. The children of the Persians.

τὸ πολλὸν δ' ἡγέσται ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι="and they believe numbers to *constitute strength*." Compare the language of the Psalms, "Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them."

μηδεμιαν ἄσσην τῷ πατρὶ προσβάλλῃ="that he may *dash* no sorrow *against* his father's heart."

137. First offenders indulged.

ἀλλὰ λογισάμενος. Compare the letter of Themistocles to King Artaxerxes in Thuc. I. 137.

οὕτω τῷ θυμῷ χρᾶται="thus indulges *his passion*."

138. Lying and debt disgraceful among the Persians.

τὸ ὀφείλειν χρέος="to owe a *debt*." χρέος="that which one *ought* or *must* (χρῆ) do or pay."

λεύκην=this was the *mild* form of leprosy. With the banishment of the leper compare the Jewish usage, as in Lev. xiii. 46, 2 Kings vii. 3, xv. 5. Luke xvii. 12.

ἐς πόλιν οὗτος οὐ κατέρχεται="this man (i.e. the leper) does not enter a *city* as a *place of refuge*:" this is sometimes the force of κατά.

ἐς ποταμὸν δὲ, κ.τ.λ. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxx. 6: "Magus ad eum Tiridates venerat, Armeniacum de se triumphum afferens, et ideo provincii gravis. Navigare noluerat, quoniam expuere in maria aliisque mortalium necessitatibus violare naturam eam fas non putant."

σέβονται ποταμούς—as the Indians now do the Ganges. Compare the epigram of Dioscorides, *Antholog. Pal.* vii. 162:

ἀλλὰ περιστείλας με δίδου χθονί, μήδ' ἐπὶ νεκρῷ
λουτρὰ χέψς σέβομαι, δέσποτα, καὶ ποταμούς.

139. Peculiarity of the Persian proper names.

οὐ τὰ μὲν, τὰ δὲ οὐ, κ.τ.λ.=“not that some do, and that some don't, but you will find that all equally (end in sigma)”. “Here Herodotus is mistaken. The Persian names of men which terminate with a consonant end, indeed, invariably with the letter *s*, or rather *sh*, as Kurúsh (Cyrus), Dáryavush (Darius), &c.....but a large number of Persian names of men were pronounced with a *vowel termination* not expressed in writing, and in these the last consonant might be almost any letter: we find on the monuments Vashtásp (Hystaspes), Arsham (Arsames), &c.”—Rawlinson.

140. Peculiar customs of the Magians.

κατακηρώσαντες=“having completely covered it with wax.” So Strabo, Bk. xv. p. 735: θάππουσι δὲ κηρῷ περιπλασάντες τὰ σώματα· τοὺς δὲ μάγους οὐ θάππουσι, ἀλλ' οἰωνοβρώτους ἔωσι. Larcher states that the body of Edward I. was found in the year 1774 in a *perfect state of preservation, completely covered with wax*.

ἀγνεύουσι=“make a point of conscience to.” Lat. “reverentur.”

ἀγώνισμα μέγα τοῦτο, κ.τ.λ.=“and they consider this a great object to strive for.”

141. Cyrus answers the Greeks by a fable.

ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι, κ.τ.λ.=“wishing to become his subjects on the same conditions as they were the subjects of Cræsus.”

λόγον=“fable or apologue:” hence Herod. ii. 134, calls Æsop λογοποιὸς—where he says σύνδουλος δὲ Αἰσώπου τοῦ λογοποιοῦ.

ἐμέο αὐλέοντος=“when I was piping.” See the words of our Redeemer, Matt. xi. 17.

142. The twelve Ionian towns.

τῶντὸ ποιεῖ τῇ Ἰωνίῃ=“has the same effect as Ionia.”

νενομικασί=“are and have been accustomed to use.” See ii. 42; iv. 183.

Μίλητος. This was situated in Caria, on the sea shore, on the mouth of the Mæander: on the change of the face of the country, owing to alluvial deposits, see Cramer's *Asia Minor*, Vol. i. p. 383.

Myus lay to the N.E. of Miletus, on the left bank of the Mæander: near its mouth.

Priene, a little to the N.W. of Myus. Its remains, on the southern slope of Mycale, are still extant.

Ephesus was on the southern bank of the Cayster, near its mouth.

Colophon was a few miles to the N.W. of Ephesus, about two miles from the coast. Long walls connected it with its port, Notium.

Lebedus, now *Xingi*, on the coast, a little to the N.W. of Colophon.

Teos was on the southern side of the isthmus of Chalcideis, to the North of which is the gulf of Smyrna: its site is now occupied by *Boudroun*.

Clazomenæ lay on the North of the isthmus of Chalcideis, nearly opposite to Teos.

Phocæa, the northernmost of the Ionian cities, lay on the coast of Lydia, on the South of the Cumæan gulf.

Erythræ, on the continent, lay opposite Chios, now called Ritræ.

Σάμιοι δὲ ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν μόνου, supply *διαλέγονται* = "now the Samians are the *only people who* use a language of their own," compare "*solus*" in Latin, "*Cassandra sola cantat*" = "*Cassandra is the only one to sing.*"

143. Safety of the Milesians.

ἐν σκέπη τοῦ φόβου = "in shelter *from fear*," the *objective* genitive.

λόγου ἐλαχίστου = "of least account."

Πανιώνιον. The place of assembly of the Ionian confederate cities was at Mycale.

ὅτι μὴ = εἰ μὴ = "*nisi*" = "*except.*"

144. The Dorian Pentapolis.

φυλάσσονται = "are on *their guard* against," (force of mid.) but φυλάσσω = "to *guard*," or "*protect.*"

τὸ Τριοπικὸν ἶρὸν. This temple was built on the promontory of Caria, now Cape Crio. It derived its name from Triopium, founded by Triopos, afterwards called Chidus. See I. 174.

Δίνδος, κ.τ.λ. See Homer's *Iliad*, II. 655.

145. Cause of the insulation of the Ionian towns.

κατὰ περ νῦν Ἀχαιῶν, κ.τ.λ. According to Clinton the Achæans and Ionians were kindred people, both originally *Pelasgians*. Strabo's list entirely coincides with that of Herodotus: see on this point Müller's *Dorians*, Vol. II. pp. 248, 249.

πρὸς Σικυῶνος = "*towards* Sicyon."

Πατρίες. "By Herodotus using this expression, it seems as if the city *Patræ* did not exist in his time: Ægium and Dyme, on the other hand, seem to have done so." Blakesley.

146. The Ionians formerly a mixed people.

μᾶλλον... ἴσως. So Plautus in *Epid.* III. 3, 46:

"Ego si allegassem aliquem ad hoc negotium

Minus hominem doctum minusque ad hanc rem callidum."

Cicero in *Verrem*. v. 12: "Omnes Siciliæ semper prætores."

"*Ἀβαντες*. The Eubœans are generally called by Homer *Abantes*; and *Abantis* was the ancient name of the island.

Δρύονες. This was a *Pelasgic* people, who inhabited mount Eta for three generations before Hercules, by whom they were expelled and transplanted into Peloponnesus, according to Fynes Clinton. See Herod. i. 56.

Φωκῆες ἀποδάσμουι = "Phocæans, separate from the rest." See v. 57.

διὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν φόνον, κ.τ.λ. Buttmann (*Lexilogus*, p. 438) observes here, "it is true that the passage i. 146, might contribute to lead us into such an error if pointed in the following manner: *διὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν φόνον* (i. e. on account of the murder of their fathers and former husbands) *αἱ γυναῖκες αὐται, νόμον θέμεναι, σφίσι αὐτῇσι ὅρκους ἐπήλασαν..... μήποτε δημοσιτῆσαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι*. Misled by this punctuation Schweighäuser in his *Lex. Herod.* directs us in the other passage (vi. 62), after the words, *ἐπὶ τούτοις* (upon this) *δὲ ὅρκους ἐπήλασαν*, to supply *ἀλλήλοισι*. We ought rather to collect from this latter passage, that in the former the *ἐπὶ* in *ἐπήλασαν* refers to the thing, and *νόμον θέμεναι* must be joined to *σφίσι αὐτῇσι*. "*Ὅρκον ἐπηλάσαι* must therefore in both passages mean, 'to lay a solemn oath on a thing, bind oneself to it by an oath.' See vi. 74."

147. The Ionians governed by kings of all races in former times.

ἀπὸ Γλαύκου, see his descent in Homer's *Iliad*, vi. 150, 212.

Καυκωνας Πυλίου.—The Caucones Pylii were an ancient people of Triphylia, in the southern part of Elis.

οἱ καθαρῶς γεγονότες Ἴωνες = "of pure Ionic blood."

εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες, κ.τ.λ. = "all the others however are Ionians also, as many as derive their origin from Athens, and celebrate the festival of Apaturia." In this festival the *clansmen* all met together, for the citizens were collected together according to *Phratrias*, which were composed of separate families. See Hermann's *Political Antiquities*.

148. Hellenic Festivals.

Ἑλικωνίῳ. At Helicê in Achaia was a celebrated temple of Neptune, whence he was called *Heliconius*.

149. The Æolian towns.

Κύμη—Cyme, called Phriconis also, lay towards the South of the gulf to which it gave the name of Cumæan, a little to the N.E. of Phocæa. See Cramer, Vol. i. p. 147.

Lerissa was near the river Hermus, between it and Cyme.

Neontichus (= "the new fortified place") lay between Larissa and the Hermus.

Κόλλα—on the coast of the Troad, at the end of the gulf of Adramyttium. It was famous for the worship of Apollo, and is styled *very divine* in *Iliad*, i. 37.

Πιτάνη, at the mouth of Evenus, on the North of the Cumæan gulf.
ἤκουσαν οὐκ ὁμολως = "not coming up to it" in seasons.

150. The loss of Smyrna.

ὤδε ἀπέβαλον = "thus flung away" and so lost. See I. 16.

ὑπεδέξαντο = "secretly or treacherously received amongst themselves."

τὰ ἐπιπλα = "moveable." See I. 94.

151. The Æolian towns in Ida and in the islands.

πέντε μὲν πόλεις. The five Lesbian cities were, Mytilene, Methymna, Antissa, Eresus, and Pyrrha.

τὴν Λέσβον νέμονται = "distribute Lesbos amongst themselves."

ἐόντας ὁμαίμους, namely τοὺς Ἀρισβαλοὺς implied in Ἀρίσβαν.

ἐν τῇσι Ἑκατὸν Νήσοισι = about 40, not 100; it is better with Strabo to write it as one word Ἑκατονήσοι = the island of the far-darter Apollo, (called *Hecatus* and *Hecateus*, as his sister was called *Hecate*).

ἄλλη μὴ = "one besides." This is often the force of ἄλλος, when collocated with other attributes.

152. The Ionian and Æolian embassy to Lacedæmon.

ἀπικέατο, the Ionic form of the Aor. 2. ἀφίκοντο: while ἀπικατο = *pluperfect* = ἀφίγμενοι ἦσαν.

πορφύρεον εἶμα περιβαλόμενος = "having wrapped himself up in a purple robe," the accusative of the cognate notion.

ὥς ἂν = "that probably."

ἀλλ' ἀπέδοξε..... μὴ τιμωρέειν. The μὴ is here added to the infinitive, on account of the negative implied in ἀπέδοξε = "non-placuit." Verbs of negative import, such as κωλύειν, ἀποστερεῖν, ἀπέχεσθαι, κ.τ.λ. take μὴ, which is not superfluous or contradictory, because it strengthens the result of the negative portion of the verb, for example, διείργεται τὸ μὴ εἶναι σύμφορος = "he is prevented, and the result is that he is not useful," i.e. he is prevented from being useful: and in the case before us, when analysed on this principle, ἀλλ' ἀπέδοξε, κ.τ.λ. "but it did not seem good to them, and the result was that they would not aid the Ionians."

153. The Spartans badly treated by Cyrus.

ἑλλεσχα = "matters of gossip," from λέσχη: compare πρόλεσχος, a word of like origin, in Æschyl. *Supp.* 208, and Herod. II. 135, περιλεσχίνευτος.

ἀπέβριψε..... τὰ ἔπεα: so in VIII. 92.

ἐπείχέ τε, supply τὸν νοῦν, and see I. 80.

154. The revolt of the Lydians.

ἀπέστγησε—(transitive in Aor. I,) = "made the Lydians to revolt."

155. Cræsus gives Cyrus advice.

ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι = "to sell them out for slaves forthwith," force of the Aorist. ὥς οἴκασι = the more usual ὥς ἐοίκε. See III. 143.

εἴ τις πατέρα ἀποκτείνας, κ.τ.λ. Aristotle in his *Rhetoric* quotes the proverb thus: Νήπιος δὲ πατέρα κτείνας, παῖδας καταλείπει.

ἐμῇ κεφαλῇ ἀναμάζας=Lat. "capite meo luens"="wiping off the guilt by the sacrifice of my own head." The Greek idiom evidently refers to the custom of *wiping* the knife upon the *head* of the *sacrificial* victim, after *killing it*: part of the *μαχαλίζειν*. See Soph. *El.* 445, and see *Odyss.* I. 91.

συγγνώμην ἔχων="having a fellow-feeling with."

κέλευε δὲ σφεας κυθῶνας. Xerxes imposed a like punishment on the Babylonians that had revolted from him, according to Plutarch: see Blomfield's Glossary in *Æsch. Persæ*, 41, ἀβροδιαυτον δ' ἔπεται Λυδῶν ὄχλος.

καπηλεῖν. See I. 94.

οὐδὲν δεινοί.....μὴ ἀποστέωσι—put for οὐ δεινὸν ἔσται μὴ ἐκείνοι ἀποστέωσι.

156. Cyrus follows the advice of Cræsus.

οἱ ὑπερίθεο="suggested to him."

μεταβουλεύσασθαι="to change his plans without delay" (aorist).

ὑπὲς τῆς ὀργῆς="yielding somewhat in his anger" (the *partitive genitive*). The ὑπὸ here has a *softening* tendency.

καὶ πρὸς="and besides." πρὸς is often used *adverbially*. See II. 142, *Æsch. Prom.* 73, 937.

157. Pactyas takes refuge in Cyme.

ἐς ἡθεα τὰ Πεστέων. Observe that ἡθεα is not used in Attic writers to express the *habitations* of men. It occurs first in this sense in Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 168, and very often in *Herodotus*. The transition in English from "*habit*" to "*habitation*" is not great.

στρατοῦ μοῖραν ὁσηνδῆκοτε ἔχων="with a division of the army, however *great* or *small* it may be." See I. 160.

ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι. See I. 46, 92.

158. The Cymæans consult the oracle at Branchidæ.

ἔσχε μὴ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα Κυμαίους="maintained that the Cymæans should not *now* do this."

ἐπειρησόμενοι="about to ask *again*," or "*in addition*."

159. Aristodicus procures a different answer from the oracle.

δειμαίνοντες="although we dread." The Greek participle has often a *concessive* force, as here. ἀναξ="supreme sovereign," as opposed to βασιλεὺς. The term in Homer is generally *applied* to gods, and to Agamemnon amongst men, as the *supreme* leader of the expedition.

ἐς τόδε="thus far." τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ="your opinion,"—the opinion that emanates from yourself.

νεοσσευμένα="hatched in a nest." Often in the Septuagint.

ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου="ex adyto," Lat.="from the *inner* (unapproached shrine)."

τοῖσι ἰκέτησι βοηθέεις, κ.τ.λ. Observe that in *both* cases here the article is *personal*, as elsewhere. Translate: "O supreme monarch! on the one hand, you yourself thus come to the help of *your* suppliants; and, on the other hand, you bid the Cymæans give up *their* suppliant."

160. The Cymæans send Pactyas to Mitylene.

ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀταρνεί μισθῷ = "on the condition of receiving the Atarnean territory as a reward." Of this place he speaks in VIII. 106. ἐς γῆν τὴν Μυσίην, τὴν Χίοι μὲν νέμονται, Ἀταρνέως δὲ καλέεται.

οὐλὰς κριθῶν = "whole (grains) of barley." The Greeks sprinkled cakes of this upon the victim's head in sacrifice; the Romans reduced it to powder, and having mixed it with *salt* (salsa mica, salsa mola) cast it on the *victim*.

οὐλὰς κριθῶν πρόχυσιν ἐποιέετο = "were in the habit of using *whole* grains of barley for *sprinkling* (on the head of the victim)."

161. Mazares enslaves the Prienians, and dies.

ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπολιορκήσαντας Τάβαλον = "against those who had *joined* in blockading Tabalus."

ἐπέδραμε = (our idiom exactly) "*over-ran*."

162. Harpagus succeeds Mazares.

στρατηγὸς ἀποδεχθείς = "having been appointed general." From ἀποδεικνύω, not ἀποδέχομαι. See II. 124.

ὅκως γὰρ τευχίῃρας ποιήσειε = "for when it happened that he drove the inhabitants *within* their walls." The optative of *indefinite* frequency.

χώματα χῶν = "heaping up heaps," i. e. mounds. The accusative of the *cognate* word. So II. 137, Thuc. II. 75, and 2 Kings xix. 32.

163. The heroism of the Phocæans.

Ἀδρίην = "the *Adriatic*." Τυρσηνίην = "the west of Italy." Ἰβηλίην = "the Spanish *peninsula*." Ταρτησσὸν, in the south of Spain, near *Guadalquivir*, near the site of the modern *Cadiz*. It is called *Tarshish* in Old Testament history.

οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαντες = "these are they who *explored*."

πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν = "a hundred and twenty *in all*."

164. The Phocæans desert their city rather than yield to Harpagus.

ἐξεποιήθη = "was *completed*." II. 125.

προΐσχομενος = "continually holding forth" (intensive and iterative of ἔχω).

ὥς οἱ καταχρῆ = "that it was enough, and *quite* enough." An intensive form of ἀποχρῆν. See IV. 118, VIII. 70.

κατιρῶσαι = "to *consecrate*," to dedicate to the king (to whom what-ever belonged was *sacred*).

περιημεκτέοντες. See I. 44.

165. The Chians refuse to sell them the islands *Ænussæ*.

τὰς νήσους τὰς Οἰνούσας. These islands, now called *Spalmadores* or *Egonisi*, lie between Chios and the continent.

ὠνεομένοισι=“wishing to buy for themselves.”

Κύρνον. Now “*Corsica*.”

ἀνεστήσαντο=“raised up for themselves.”

Ἀλαλίη. Afterwards called *Alesia*.

Φωκαίην. Now called “*Fochia*.”

ἐποίησαντο ἰσχυρὰς κατάρας=“they bound themselves by strong curses.”

κατεπόντωσαν=“they sunk into the depths of the sea.” Compare the words of Horace, *Epod.* XVI. 17 sqq.:

“Nulla sit hâc potior sententia: Phocæorum
Velut profugit execrata civitas.

*Sed juremus in hæc: simul imis saxa renârint
Vadis levata, ne redire sit nefas.*”

ἀναφῆναι. Intransitive for *ἀναφανῆναι*.

ἀερόντες (passive with *active* signification)=“having weighed anchor.” Literally, “having *lifted* (the anchor).”

166. The rest of the Phocæans sail for *Corsica*.

ἄγον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔφερον, κ.τ.λ.=“and they *drove* (away the cattle), and, observe, even *carried* (off the corn, &c.) of all their neighbours, *without exception*.” Compare the “*ferre* (of things) et *agere*” (slaves and cattle) of the Roman writers.

Καδμείη τις νίκη=“a *dear-bought* victory:” a proverbial expression from the disastrous story of Eteocles and Polynices, whose *victory was death*. The victory mentioned by Herodotus is not the same victory as that mentioned by Thucyd. I. 13, obtained 60 years before, when the Phocæans were founding Marseilles.

167. Some Phocæans found *Velia*.

κατέλευσαν=“stoned to death” (a *Jewish* punishment).

Ἀγυλλαῖοι=“the inhabitants of *Agylla* or *Cære*.”

ἐναγίζουσι=“sacrifice to the dead,” as opp. to *θύειν*=“to sacrifice to the living.”

Τέλη=“*Velia*.” Derived from *ἐλη*, (“the marshes”) near *Pæstum*.

168. The Teians leave their own town, and found *Abdera*.

Τήϊοι. Teos is now called “*Bodrun*.” it is famous for being *Anacreon's birth-place*.

πρότερος τούτων, κ.τ.λ. *Abdera* was founded by Timesius from *Clazomenæ*, about 108 years before its subsequent settlement by the Teians.

169. The rest of the Ionians submit.

τὴν δουλοσύνην οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι = "as a fact not *putting up* with slavery." Observe the strong force of οὐκ *with a participle*.

170. Bias' advice to the Ionians.

νήσων τε ἀπασέων μεγίστην νεμομένους = "portioning out among themselves the largest of all islands, without exception." Observe the mistake of Herodotus in making Sardinia the *largest* island, and see v. 106, vi. 2. It is rather odd that he did not know that even *Sicily* was larger.

171. Harpagus attacks the Carians.

Κάρες μὲν. According to Strabo this people once possessed the eastern coast of Peloponnesus.

ὅσον καὶ ἐγὼ δυνατὸς εἰμι, κ.τ.λ. = "as far as I can learn by report, going as far back as possible (in my inquiries)."

ἄσχανον = "shield-handle" of this shape, X; while the τελαμών, also a *shield-handle*, was of this shape, II.

ἐφόρεον τὰς ἀσπίδας = "they used to *wear* their shields." φορέω is the *frequentative* form of φέρω, as "gesto" in Lat. is of "gero."

μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Κάρας χρόνῳ ὕστερον. Thucyd. i. 4, says that Minos ejected the Carians from the Cyclades, and established his own sons as rulers. Bähr reconciles this by supposing that those only were expelled who *resisted* his authority, and that the more submissive inhabitants were allowed to remain.

172. The Caunians, their language and customs.

πρὸς τὸ Καρικὸν ἔθνος. Homer speaks of the Carians as βαρβαροφώνων. *Iliad*, II. 687.

ἐνδύντες τὰ ὅπλα. From this we may conjecture that the Caunian national god was a war-god.

ἡβηδὸν = "all from their youth *upwards*."

173. The Lycians—origin of people and their name.

οἱ Λύκιοι, Τερμύλαιοι. In VII. 92, Herodotus observes, Λύκιοι δὲ Τερμύλαιοι ἐκαλέοντο ἐκ Κρήτης γεγονότες, ἐπὶ δὲ Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίωνος ἀνδρὸς Ἀθηναίου ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην.

ἀνὰ χρόνον = "in the course of time." See VII. 10, VIII. 123.

συμφέρονται = "agree," II. 80, v. 13, as we say, "to *bear one out* in a statement."

ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων. Müller, in his work on the Etruscans, remarks this of the Etruscans, and states that the *mother's* name occurs in Tuscan sepulchral inscriptions more often than the *father's* name.

καταλέξει = "will *lay down*." ἀναμεύεται = "will *count up*."

174. Harpagus readily conquers Caria.

ἀργμμένης δὲ ἐκ τῆς χερσονήσου τῆς Βυβασσίας = "since Bybassia began from the mainland." ἀργμμένης = "adjoins," acc. to Rawlinson.

Σύμνη. Mentioned by Homer, *Iliad*, II. 671.

175. The Pedaseans resist Harpagus.

Πηδασέες. This term would imply that though such a people existed, yet such a town as Πήδασα no longer existed, at least in the time of Herodotus.

τρίς σφι τοῦτο ἐγένετο. See VIII. 104, where this is varied by δις ἥδη ἐγένετο.

Αἶδη. This mountain is not mentioned by any other extant author.

176. Obstinate defence of Xanthus.

Ξάνθιον πεδῖον. This lay to the south of the city, being in fact the alluvial deposit of the river Xanthus. It is about seven miles across from Uzlan to Patara, and from four to five miles deep from the coast to the foot of the mountains: the city stands near its upper extremity, on the left bank of the river. The Xanthians distinguished themselves by resisting Harpagus, Alexander, and Brutus.

177. Cyrus in person subdues Upper Asia.

καὶ οὐδὲν παρίεις = "passing by none." Supply ἔθνος.

178. An account of Babylon.

Ἀσσυριοῖσι ἐπετίθετο = "set himself upon the Assyrians;" i. e. attacked. Observe that Babylonia is included in Assyria by Herodotus.

καὶ ἐνθα σφι, κ.τ.λ. = "and where, on the destruction of Nineveh, the royal (halls) were fixed by them;" i. e. by the Assyrians implied in τῆς Ἀσσυρίης.

μετὰ δέ. Supply τὴν τάφρον = "and next to (the trench)."

179. The method of building its walls.

ἐλκύσαντες δὲ πλίνθους ἱκανὰς = "having moulded a sufficient quantity of bricks." Compare the Lat. term "ducere lateres."

τέλματι χρεώμενοι = "using as cement."

διὰ τριήκοντα δόμων πλίνθου, κ.τ.λ. = "inserting between every thirty rows of bricks layers of reed-mats." πλίνθος is a collective noun here.

μονόκωλα = "having one chamber;" literally, "single-jointed."

χάλλκαι πᾶσαι. Isaiah xlv. 2, "I will break in pieces the gates of brass" (of Babylon). See III. 159 of Herodotus.

180. The Euphrates divides the city.

τὸ ὦν δὴ τείχος ἐκάτερον, κ.τ.λ. = "the wall on each side has its angles carried down to the river;" i. e. is squared off where it runs

into the river. Homer also uses ἀγκών in the same way to the angular projection of a wall. See *Iliad*, II. 702.

τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτον. Supply τοῦ ἀγκῶνος = "from this rectangular direction."

181. The temple of Belus in Babylon.

θώρηξ = "breast-work." θωράκιον = "lorica mœnium."

περιβόλῳ = "circular wall;" that is, *thrown* (βάλλω) *around* (περί) the city.

τοῦ ἱεροῦ. The ἱερὸν embraced the entire extent of the *consecrated* ground, containing the sacred grove (τέμενος), the court, and houses of the priests; the temple, properly so called, was ναὸς = the *holy shrine*, where the Deity dwells (νάει ὁ θεός).

μεσοῦντι δέ κου τῆς, κ.τ.λ. = ἐν μέσῳ ἔντι τῆς, κ.τ.λ. = "to one being about the middle of the ascent."

182. Similar customs at Ægyptian Thebes and Patara.

ἐπεὰν γένηται. Supply ὁ θεός; i. e. Apollo, who during the *winter* months is at Patara in Lycia, and in *summer* is in Delos. Compare Horace, *Od.* III. 4. 64, "*Delius et Patareus Apollo.*"

183. Another temple in Babylon.

ἄλλος κάτω νηός. A sort of *crypt* temple.

ἔνι = ἐνεστι. (Observe the *accent*.)

οἱ τράπεζα μεγάλη παρακείμεται = "a large table is spread before him." Compare the ceremonies of the Roman Lectisternum.

τὸ βάθρον = "the step" (by which the throne is ascended), or "the pedestal" on which the image (ἄγαλμα) rests.

τὰ τέλεα τῶν προβάτων = "the full-grown sheep," or "full number" (τέλος = tale—count), or "perfect," without spot or blemish. The genitive here is *partitive*. γαλαθηνὰ = "sucklings."

ἀπαγορεύοντα μή. See note on I. 152.

184. The Babylonish monarchs.

ἀπεδέξατο = "exhibited," left as *visible memorials* of herself. Compare the expression in the next chap. μνημόσυνα ἔλιπετο.

πρότερον δὲ ἑώθεε ὁ ποταμός, κ.τ.λ. = "and formerly the river was wont to *drown every thing like a sea*, up and down the plain." So Isaiah, speaking of Babylon, "the burden of the desert of the sea;" and in Jeremiah, "I will *dry up her sea*."

185. Semiramis and Nitocris.

ἀραιοημένα. Ionic for ἡρήμενα = "taken."

οἱ ἂν κομίζωνται = "those who *convey* themselves," mid., and so travel; so πορεύω and πορεύομαι.

ἐλutron λίμνη=“a reservoir for a lake.” (The dative of advantage.)

βάθος μὲν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ἀεὶ ὀρύσσουσα=“as to depth, digging on (until they came) to the water.”

ἐκ τε τῶν πλώων. Supply σκολιῶν=“and after these winding navigations.”

τὰ σύντομα ὁδοῦ=“the short-cut (passage).”

186. The Quay along the river-bank.

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ, κ.τ.λ.=“Now, observe, she threw around her city (as a defence) this (soil) from the excavation, and afterwards she had the following addition made.”

τῆς πόλιος εἰούσης δύο φαρσέων=“the city consisting of two parts.”

δέουσα τοὺς λίθους...μολύβδῳ. See Thucyd. I. 93.

187. Darius opened the sepulchre of Nitocris.

οὐ γὰρ ἀμεινον=“for it is better not;” euphemism for it will be worse for him.

περιῆλθε ἡ βασιληΐη=“the kingdom came round to.”

καὶ δευδὼν ἐδόκεε=“it seemed even a hard (matter).”

ἐπικαλεομένων=“calling him on to it;” i. e. provoking attention.

μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν αὐτά. Observe μὴ οὐ=Lat. “quin”=“but that he should seize it without delay.”

188. Cyrus invades Labynetus.

τοῦ μόνου πίνει βασιλεὺς=“the only water of which the king drinks;” the *partitive genitive*. Compare Milton, *Paradise Regained*:

“There Susa by *Choaspes*' amber stream,
The drink of none but kings.”

189. Cyrus' anger at the river Gyndes.

ἐπὶ Γύνδῃ ποταμῷ. See v. 32. As this river is mentioned by no other author, there is considerable difficulty in identifying it. Probably it is the same with the Mendeli, which flows from the mountains of Louristan, and joins the Tigris between Kort and Karna.

ἵππων τῶν λευκῶν. See Herod. VII. 55.

συμψήσας=“having swept away.”

ὑποβρύχιον οἰχώκεε φέρων=“engulphed and carried off.”

κατέτεινε σχοινοτενέας, κ.τ.λ.=“he marked out in a straight line and extended one hundred and eighty channels on each side of the river, diverging in every direction.”

190. Cyrus advances on Babylon in the second spring.

ὕελαμπε=“just gleamed forth.” Observe the force of ὑπό.

ἀπορίῃσι ἐνείχετο=“was being pressed upon by difficulties.”

ἀνωτέρω τε οὐδὲν τῶν πρηγμάτων προκοπτομένων = "and in no respect his plans *advancing* onwards." Observe that προκόπτειν = "to cut down impediments;" i. e. *cut* one's way *before* one, and hence to *advance*. So the Lat. "procedo" (pro-cædo?) in Livy, "cum parum procederet inceptum." See III. 56, and Thucyd. IV. 60 and VII. 56.

191. Cyrus takes Babylon by stratagem.

σὺν τῷ ἀχρηΐῳ τοῦ στρατοῦ = "with the *ineffective* part of his army." See Xen. *An.* V. 2. 21, and Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* VII. 77, "inutiles ad bellum."

τὸ ἀρχαίων ῥέθρον διαβατὸν εἶναι ἐποίησε. Isaiah xlv. 27, "That saith to the deep, Be dry, and I will dry up the rivers." Jeremiah I. 38, "A drought is upon her waters, and they shall be dried up; for it is the land of graven images, and they are mad upon their idols."

ὑπονοστήσαντος = "having gone gently back." So Thucyd. III. 89.

ἐτετάχατο Ionic = τεταγμένοι ἦσαν Attic.

οὐδ' ἂν, περιῶδόντες, κ.τ.λ. = "they could not *possibly* have *overlooked* the Persians entering their city, but would have destroyed them most miserably."

πυλίδας ἐχούσας = "little gates *leading*" (like φερούσα in I. 180).

ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάρθεος, κ.τ.λ. See Jeremiah li. 31, "One post shall run to meet another, and one messenger to meet another, to shew the king of Babylon that *his city is taken at one end*." According to Aristotle's *Pol.* III. 2, Babylon was taken *three* days before it was known to all its inhabitants. Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, VII. 5. 15, agrees with Herodotus that it was taken at a festival. See Rollin's remarks in his *Ancient History*.

192. The resources of Babylonia boundless.

γῇ πᾶσα ὅσης ἄρχει. See I. 21.

ἡ δὲ ἀράβη. The Attic corn-medimnus contained forty-eight chœnices; consequently, the Persian artabe contained fifty-one chœnices. The medimnus was equal to two Roman Amphoræ, or about an English bushel and a half. See Boeck's *Public Economy of Athens*.

193. The soil of Babylonia good for grain.

ῥεται μὲν ὀλίγῳ: supply ῥεται or ῥδατι.

κηλωνητοῖσι. A sort of *crane* for raising water from a well.

ἐπὶ διηκόσια = "two hundred-fold." See II. 165.

καρπῶν ἐχόμενα = "relating to fruits." See I. 120.

194. The merchant craft described.

τὰ πλοῖα: see Lucan, IV. 131:

"Primum cana salix, madefacto vimine, parvam
Texitur in puppim," &c.

Porter describes similar boats on the modern Babylonish rivers.

195. Babylonish dress.

κισῶνι...λινέω. According to Heeren, λινεον in Herodotus signifies either *linen* or *cotton*.

ἐπερδύνει = "the Babylonian puts *upon* him and *over* him." Supply ὁ Βαβυλωνίος.

196. The sale of the beautiful women to endow the plain.

κήρυξ πωλέεσκε = "the herald (or auctioneer) *used* to sell."

εὐρύουσα πολλὸν χρυσίον = "having *brought* much gold." We say, "to fetch" or "bring" a *good* price.

ἀνεκήρυσσε = "he proceeded to cry *up*" or "put *up* to auction."

εὐδαίμονες = "rich," as "beatus," often in Latin, "*blessed* with this world's wealth."

197. The sick of Babylon.

παρεξελθεῖν τὸν κάμνοντα = "to pass away on the other side from one who is labouring under a disease." Remember the *priest* and *Levite* in our blessed Lord's Parable of the Good Samaritan.

198. Custom of burial.

ταφαὶ δέ σφι ἐν μέλιτι = "and they bury in *honey*."

199. The impurity of the Mylitta worship.

ἅπαξ = "once for all" (in her life).

εἰδὲς τε ἐπαμμέναι εἰσι καὶ μεγάθεος, κ.τ.λ. = "and as many women as are *striking* for their beauty and stature." ἐπαμμέναι from ἐφάπτεσθαι τινος = "to lay hold of one"—impress, captivate.

200. Three Babylonish tribes live on fish.

ἐς ὄλμον = "into a mortar."

σῶσι διὰ σινδόνος = "strain through fine linen." σῶσι an abbreviated form of σήθουσι, as νῶσι for νήθουσι.

201. Cyrus attacks the Massagetæ.

The Massagetæ were *nomad* Scythians beyond the Iaxartes, sometimes Iacæ, sometimes Tartars, of *Mongolian* race. Herodotus gives the best proof himself from the similarity of clothes and food, of living in waggons, and of fighting on horseback.

πρὸς ἡῶ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς = "towards the east and rising of the Sun:" a pleonasm. See II. 31, ῥέει ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης τε καὶ ἡλίου δυσμέων.

202. The islands of the Araxes.

τὴν χειμερινήν: supply ὥρη.

καὶ πῦρ ἀνακαύσονται, κ.τ.λ. See IV. 75, where similar efforts are said to be produced among the Scythians by the vapour of hemp heated on stones.

ῥέει διὰ καθαροῦ = "flows *without obstruction*." Supply τόπον.

203. The Caspian Sea.

ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς = "by itself." ἀπ' ὕλης ἀγρῆς = "on the produce of the wild woods."

τὰ πολλὰ πάντα = "quite the majority."

ἰῶα ἐγγράφειν = "print figures of animals on their dress."

204. The Massagetæ.

ιθύσει στρατεύεσθαι = "he directed his expedition."

205. Cyrus proposes marriage to Tomyris, Queen of the Massagetæ.

ἐμῶτο τῷ λόγῳ = "pretended to court her," as opp. to τῷ ἐργῷ.

ἀπείπατο τὴν πρόσοδον = "she rejected his advance." The verb literally means, "said 'off' to."

206. Tomyris challenges Cyrus to battle.

ἀνέχεν ὁρέων = "put up with seeing."

προετίθεε = "he laid before them."

207. Cræsus advises Cyrus to invade the enemy.

ὅτι ἐπεὶ με, κ.τ.λ. Observe that ὅτι often, as here, introduces the very words used by the speaker, and answers very much to our quotation marks.

208. Cyrus passes the Araxes to fight Tomyris.

συνέσταναν = "were at variance." So in VII. 142, VIII. 79; and compare the somewhat uncommon expressions, συνεστάνει λιμῷ, πόνῳ, καμᾶτῳ, VII. 170, IX. 89.

κατὰ ὑπέσχετο πρῶτα = "according as she undertook at first." κατὰ = καθ' ἃ in Attic Greek.

τὴν βασιλητὴν ἐδίδου. This harmonises well with the law mentioned in VII. 2.

209. Cyrus sends home Hystaspes, the father of Darius, on account of a dream.

ἐδίδου λόγον ἑωυτῷ = "proceeded to reason with himself." See I. 97.

οὐκὼν ἐστὶ μηχανῇ...τὸ μὴ κείνον ἐπιβουλεύειν = "there is no possibility that he is not plotting;" i. e. he cannot but be plotting.

210. Cyrus is afraid of Darius.

ἀντὶ μὲν δοῦλων = "instead of slaves." Herodotus alone of the Greek authors uses ἀντὶ with the infinitive mood without the article: probably for the sake of antithesis, as here.

παραδίδωμι = "give him up" (into your hand). Compare the Latin "trado."

φυλάξων Κύρῳ = "about to watch for the good of Cyrus." Dative of advantage.

211. Cyrus carries out the plan of Croesus.

τοῦ καθαροῦ στρατοῦ = "the *sound part* of the army," as καθαρὸς = "free" (1) from *impurity*, (2) from *incompleteness* or *inefficiency*. See Thucyd. v. 8, τῶν γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ὅπερ ἐστράτευε, καθαρὸν ἐξῆλθε : and see Gölle's note.

δαίνυντο. See Livy, xli. 2, and Strabo, xi. who says that Cyrus employed this stratagem against the *Sacæ*, and that a festival called *Sacæa* was established to commemorate it.

212. Cyrus captures the son of Tomyris.

μηδὲν ἐπαρθῆς = "lift not thyself up *at all*." The passive with a middle signification.

ἐπαναπλώειν = "to float *upwards to the top*." The word is the Ionic form of ἐπαναπλέειν.

ἥλιον ἐπὶ δόμνυμι τοι = "I swear to you by *the Sun*." So in Latin we have "*juro*" with the accusative case, as in Virgil, *Æn.* xii. 197 :

"Hæc eadem, *Ænea*, terram, mare, sidera juro."

ἡ μὲν = ἡ μὴν. The *usual* and *solemn* formula of the oath sworn = "in truth," or "in God's name."

213. The son of Tomyris commits suicide.

ἵνα ἦν κακοῦ = "in what special *calamity* he was in."

διεργάζεται = "he *dispatches*." Lat. "*conficit*."

214. Tomyris kills Cyrus.

συνέχεσθαι. Supply ἀλλήλοις = "came to *close combat*."

περιεγενέατο = Attic περιεγένοντο, as ἀπικέατο for ἀφίκοντο.

ἐναπήπτε = ἐναφήπτε.

τὴν Κύρου τελευτήν = "the ending of the (life) of Cyrus." Compare the similar fate of Crassus with the same people. Xenophon, Strabo, and others say that Cyrus died at home and in a peaceful manner.

215. Garb and manners of the Massagetæ.

ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ μετέχουσι. Supply τινες, "for of both parties are there some who occupy portions" (of the plains).

ὁ δὲ χρυσός. This was probably found in *grains* in the streams from the Altai mountains.

216. Sun-worship is their religion.

ἀποκρεμάσας = "having hung forth," or "from" (a point).

καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα; not = "and *other* sheep," but = "and *sheep* beside."

τῷ θύουσι ἵππους. Compare Xenop. *Cyrop.* viii. 3. 12, μετὰ δὲ τοὺς βοὺς ἵπποι ἤγοντο, θύμα τῷ Ἡλίῳ, and Ovid. *Fast.* i. 385 :

"Placat equo Persis radiis Hyperiona cinctum,
Ne detur celeri victima tarda Deo."

BOOK II. EUTERPE.

1. CAMBYSES succeeds his father Cyrus.

ἐπὶ δὲ Αἴγυπτον, κ.τ.λ. According to Clinton, Cambyses conquered Egypt, B.C. 425, in the fifth year of his reign.

2. Psammetichus' method of discovering the oldest nation.

ἀπὸ τοῦτου="from that time." Supply χρόνου.

ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων="people that you happen upon (every day)," i.e. *ordinary people*.

τὴν ὥρην="at the (regular) time" (of feeding).

ἤντινα φωνὴν ῥήξουσιν πρώτην="what was the first expression to which they would give utterance."

βεκός. Rawlinson observes, this word has been connected with the German "*backen*" and our "*bake*." Lessen, however, throws doubt on this connexion, and suggests a formation from the Sanscrit root "*pac*," which becomes (he says) in Greek, πέπω; Lat. *coq*-uo; German, *coch*-en; our "*cook*;" Servian, "*pec*-en."

3. The priests of Egypt supply him with information.

Ἡφαιστοῦ=the Egyptian *Phthas*.

Ἡλιούπολιν. Heliopolis, or the "City of the Sun," called also "On," was near the beginning of the Delta, a little to the north of the modern Cairo.

4. Discoveries of the Egyptians.

διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος ἐμβόλιμον ἐπεμβάλλουσι="insert an intercalary month at the commencement of every third year," i.e. at the end of every second year, I. 32.

πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον εἶναι ἕλος. According to Wilkinson (*Ancient Egyptians*), the lapse of more than 3000 years has made no sensible difference in the level of Lower Egypt, and that vestiges are still to be found on the sea-shore of places similarly located more than 2000 years since.

5. Original state of Egypt.

μέχρι τριῶν ἡμερέων πλόου. See Bk. iv. 86. Herodotus estimates a long day's sail at 70,000 fathoms, and a night's at 60,000.

6. Dimensions of Egypt.

σχοῖνοι. This Egyptian measure varied from 30 and 32 to 40 stadia. The Greek word *σχοῖνος*="rope," and "*rush*," of which ropes are still made in Egypt and in other countries, and lingers in the modern "*skain*."

7. Dimensions of Egypt.

τῶν δυνάδεκα θεῶν. See VI. 108. An altar was erected to them in the agora of Athens by Pisistratus, son of Hippias, according to Thucydides, VI. 54.

8. The plain of Egypt.

ὡς εἶναι Αἰγύπτου = "for Egypt:" ὡς is *limitative*. The meaning of the whole passage, according to Bähr, is, "As for the country, as you go up the river from Heliopolis, it is no longer spacious, for Egypt."

9. The journey from Heliopolis to Thebes.

Ἐλεφαντίνην. Blakesley remarks, that it is singular that whenever Elephantine is mentioned by Herodotus there is nothing to indicate any suspicion that it is an *island*, but, on the contrary, it appears in one passage to be considered on the mainland, in Chap. 28, and yet Herodotus professes to have visited Elephantine himself.

10. The vale of the Nile compared to the plain of Ilum.

ἐφαίνετό μοι, κ.τ.λ. This is confirmed by Nearchus.

ἐόντος πενταστόμου. Observe that here and in Chap. 15 Herodotus omits the two artificial mouths, the Bolbitine and the Bucolic.

κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον = "in comparison with the Nile."

τῶν Ἐχινάδων νήσων. Thucyd. II. 102: εἰσι τῶν νήσων αἱ ἡπείρωνται· ἐλπίς δὲ καὶ πάσας οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ τινὶ ἀν' χρόνῳ τοῦτο παθεῖν.

11. Description of the Arabian Gulf.

ἡμισυ ἡμέρης πλόου. This is only true of the Sinus Heroöpoliticus.

ἐκ τῆς βορρῆτης θαλάσσης = "from the northern sea," i.e. the *Mediterranean Sea*. ἐκ τῆς νοτίης, the Erythræan Sea, or Indian Ocean.

σχεδὸν μὲν ἀλλήλοισι συντετραίνοντας, κ.τ.λ. Blomfield, in his Glossary on the *Choephora* of Æschylus, thus translates the passage: "Ad intimos recessus penetrant idem ferè terræ spatium dissecantes, ut initium hujus cum fine illius concordat, quod ad parallelismum attinet: parvo autem spatio interposito inter se distant."

12. Formation of Egypt.

κογχύλια, κ.τ.λ. Blakesley remarks that this observation is not of a piece with his former argument. These mountains are there supposed to be *the shore* of a former sea, not to have lain at the bottom of it. The argument *here* is Strabo's, where his object is to prove the numerous instances of the change of sea and land.

τῆς γὰρ Ἀραβίης νέμονται. That portion of the coast between Egypt and Palestine.

13. The priests try to show the rise of the land.

ὅκως ἔλθοι ὁ ποταμός. Pococke supposes that eight cubits, mentioned by the priests, must be understood of the elevation of the waters above

their ordinary level, and not of their depth from the bed of the river; whereas the sixteen cubits, which he mentions further on, must be understood of the entire depth of the waters from their highest elevation to the bottom. Wilkinson agrees with him.

ἀποστροφή ὕδατος = "a remedy (for the want) of water." The objective genitive.

ἐκ τοῦ Διός. Jove is especially regarded as god of the elements, so of air, the maker of *thunder, rain, &c.* Compare Horace, "*sub Jove frigido.*"

14. The lower part of Egypt readily cultivated.

μήτε γε ὕσεται σφι ἡ χώρα. According to Wilkinson, showers fall annually at Thebes; perhaps, on an average, *four or five* in a year; and every *eight or ten years* heavy rains fill the torrent beds of the mountains which run to the banks of the Nile.

οὔτε ἀρότρω. The plough is found in ancient sculptures, and was only dispensed with, most likely, after a high flood of the Nile.

15. The boundaries of Egypt according to the Ionians.

Ἰώνων = "the *Greeks.*" As the Ionians were the first Greeks known to the *Egyptians and Asiatics*, the term was applied loosely to *all* Greeks.

Αἴγυπτον. The modern name of Egypt, *Musr* or *Misir*, is the *Misraim* of the Bible = the two Misrs corresponding to the "*two regions*" of the Scriptures. Misr does not exist on the monuments. Rawlinson observes, "Egypt is κατ' ἐξοχὴν, 'the land of Ham' (Psalms lxxviii. 51, cv. 23, 27, cvi. 22), therefore perhaps called *Chemi*, its *only* title on the monuments. Ham probably took up his abode there, and his name passed on both to the country and to its original chief god Khem, the special deity of the Thebais, which was the first seat of civilisation in Egypt. Egypt too furnishes the natural centre from which the different Hamitic races can diverge to Ethiopia, Arabia, Babylonia, Palestine, and the Syrian coast." Observe also that the words "*chemistry*," "*alchemy*," are derived from *Chemi* = *Egypt*.

ἀπὸ Περσέος καλομένης σκοπιῆς. The rocky promontory of *Aboukir*, on which Canopus stood, was probably the site of this *watch-tower*. Κάνωβος has been derived from *kahi noub* = "*golden land*," = χρύσεον ἔδαφος.

Πηλούσιον = "*Philistine*" (town), according to Lepsius, as it was the last town retained by the shepherd Princes (Hypsos), who were *Philistines*, when driven from Egypt.

κατάρρυτον = "alluvial," i.e. *borne down* (the stream).

τί περιειργάζοντο = "why did they *proceed* to a work of *supererogation*?"

τοὺς ὑποκαταβαίνοντας = "those who *gradually* came down (into the *new country*)," as opposed to τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους = "those who were left behind (in the *old country*)."

16. Want of symmetry in this definition of the limits of Egypt.

Λιβύην. Sallust (*Jug. c. 17*), “plerique in parte tertiâ Africam posuere; pauci tantummodo Asiam et Europam esse, sed Africam in Europâ.”

προσλογιζεσθαι = “in addition, to take into their calculation.”

κατὰ τὸ ὀξὺ = “at the apex.” Mela calls it, “*acumen Deltæ*.”

περιρρήγνυται = “breaks off all round in different directions.”

17. Egypt partly in Asia and in Libya.

ἑτερα διφάσια στόματα. Arrowsmith gives the following as the seven mouths of the Nile: (1) Ancient Canopic mouth, now about 300 yards wide, from Lake Aboukir, or Maudie, into the bay of Aboukir; (2) Bolbitine (Rosetta mouth); (3) ancient Sebennytic mouth (now seven feet water), from Lake Bourlas into the sea; (4) ancient Bucolic mouth, or Phatnitic; (5) ancient *Mendesian* mouth (now mouth of *Dibe*), from Lake Menzaleh into the sea; (6) ancient Tanitic mouth (now Om-Faredje mouth), with six feet water during sixty days of the Nile's increase, from Lake Menzaleh into the sea; (7) *Pelusian* mouth (now Bubastic, choked with mud, to the east of Lake Menzaleh). The Arabians call these mouths *Ostoöm*, from the Lat. “*ostium*” or Greek στόμα, by metathesis.

ἰθαγενέα (1) = “legitimate,” as opp. to νόθος, bastard; (2) = “regular,” “natural,” as opp. to ὀρυκτά = “artificial.”

18. Response of the God Ammon.

τῆς ἐμεωυτοῦ γνώμης ὕστερον = “after the (formation) of my own opinion.”

Μαρέης τε πόλιος. In II. 30, Herodotus speaks of it as a frontier fortress towards Lybia; it was placed on the southern side of that lake, called after it *Mareotis*. It was celebrated for its wine. Virgil in *Georg. II. 91*:

“Sunt Thasiæ vites, sunt et *Mareotides* albæ.”

And in Horace we have “*lymphatam Mareotico*.” And probably alluded to in the monumental inscriptions as “the wine of the northern country.”

οὐκ ὁμολογέω αὐτοῖσι = “do not speak the same language with them.”

19. The Nile, its rise and overflow.

ὃ τι κατέρχεται = δι' ὃ, τι κατέρχεται.

πελάσας δ' ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν, κ.τ.λ. “And having drawn near to the number of these days.”

ἀπέρχεται = “overflows.” See ἐπιὼν ἄρδει in II. 18.

ἀπολείπων τὸ ρέεθρον = “leaving behind its own (regular) course.” The article is *possessive*.

Handwritten signature or scribble.

μέχρι οὗ αὖτις τροπέων τῶν θερινέων="until the time of the return of the summer solstice." With the οὗ here compare the Latin expression, "tempore quo."

τὰ ἔμπαλιν πεφυκέναι="to be *naturally* the reverse."

20, 21, 22, 23. The three Greek theories of the inundations of the Nile examined.

ἐπίσημοι="men of *mark*" (*stamped* men).

σημῆναι="to indicate them *once for all*" (the force here of the *aurist*). Herod. does not think their opinions worth dwelling upon.

τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμοὺς, ὅσοι="all the other rivers, as many as." οἱ ἄλλοι=Lat. "*ceteri*," "*reliqui*;" and see note on I. 21.

πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ ποταμοὶ, κ.τ.λ. As the Etesian winds blow from the *west* as well as from the *north*, there is no real difficulty here, from the easterly course of these rivers.

ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ ῥέοντα. This was the opinion of Dicaearchus and of Homer.

λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὐδ' αὐτὴ οὐδέν="for, observe, not even does this (opinion) express anything (true)." So Lucan, x. 219:

"Vana fides veterum Nilo quo crescat in arva
Æthiopum prodesse nives."

Euripides adopted the same theory from his teacher Anaxagoras, when speaking of the Nile in *Helen*. he says:

λευκῆς τακέλης χιόνος, ὑγραίνει γῆας.

ὅτι ἀνομβρος. Strabo knew, however, that the inundation of the Nile was owing to the rains which fall during the summer in Æthiopia.

δι' ἔτεος="throughout the year." Compare the common expression in Ireland, "the year *through*."

ὁ δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ. See Chap. 21. This is supposed to be Hecataeus. οὐκ ἔχει ἐλεγχον="contains nothing to refute it."

ποταμὸν Ὠκεανόν. *Iliad*, xiv. 245, ποταμοῖο ῥέεθρα Ὠκεανοῦ.

24, 25. Herodotus' theory of the Nile inundation.

διεξόδου="the sun's course in the heavens."

διεξιὼν τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω. Herodotus seems to regard the inundation of the Nile as its *natural* state; and that the river subsided during the *winter* only because it was being drained by the *evaporation* of the sun, which was immediately over the higher parts of Libya.

The notion that the sun's food was *water*, though ridiculed by Aristotle, was Stoical, and is mentioned by Lucretius:

"Flammiger an Titan ut alentes hauriat undas
Erigit Oceanum."

And see Anacreon's *Ode*, xix.:

πίνει...ὁ δ' ἥλιος θάλασσαν.

κεχαραδρωμένης="torn up by torrents."

ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος ἐὼν ἀνομβρος="the Nile, as a fact, not having rain-water."

πιέζεται="pressed" or "exhausted" (by the sun).

26, 27. The Ister (Danube) compared to the Nile.

διακαίων τὴν διέξοδον αὐτοῦ="burning up his passage," i.e. all the air that he passes through on his course.

ἡ στάσις τῶν ὥρων="the settled position of the seasons." φιλέει=Lat. "amat," in the sense of *solet*="is wont."

28. Egyptian account of the Nile's source.

τοῦ δὲ Νείλου τὰς πηγὰς. We have not yet discovered the fountains of the true Nile, as it seems admitted on all hands that the *Bahr el Abiad*, or the *White River*, as the more important river, was the *real Nile* of the ancients.

ὁ γραμματιστὴς τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων="the scribe that had charge of the priestly properties."

Συήνης=the modern Assovan; it was a place of importance as a frontier garrison-town on the borders of Ethiopia.

Κρῶφι, Μῶφι. The scribe was evidently joking Herodotus. Rawlinson compares the words to those absurd rhyming repetitions in our language: "hurly-burly," "helter-skelter," "hum-drum," "lugger-lugger," &c.

ἐξικέσθαι=Lat. "*pervenire*"="make its way to" (*through* difficulties).

29. Herodotus did not go beyond Elephantine.

ἱστορέων="learning by inquiry."

ἀνάντες="up-hill," as opp. to κάτωτες="down-hill."

κατάπερ βοῦν, "after the manner of an ox" (when dragged by ropes to the altar).

ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τέσσερας="extends over four days." The accusative of extension in *time* and *place*, with ἐστὶ, is quite in analogy with the accusatives of διά. Compare above, ἐπὶ μακρότατον="extending (my inquiries) as far as I could."

ὁ Μαλᾶνδρος. Chandler observes, in his *Travels*, "The river runs from the mouth of the lake with many windings, through groves of tamarisk, toward Miletus, proceeding by the right wing of the theatre in mazes to the sea, which is in view and distant, as we computed, about eight miles." Our English word "*meander*" is derived from this river.

ἀποβὰς="e navi descendens" in Latin, "disembarking."

σκοπέλοι (Latin, "*scopuli*"). ἀρέχουσι (intransitive)="high rocks (from which one can see afar) hold themselves up."

χοιράδες="hogs' backs." Virgil's "*dorsum immane maris*," of low, rough sunken rocks, whose back alone is visible.

Δία...Διδουσον—called by the Egyptians “Amun” and “Osiris” respectively.

30. An Egyptian colony above Syene.

ἴσῳ χρόνῳ=“in a period equal” to the journey from Elephantine to Meröe.

πρὸς Αἰθιοπῶν=“against,” or “in the *direction of*.” Compare πρὸς Ἀραβίων, πρὸς Λιβύης.

ἀπέλυσεν οὐδεὶς=“no one *relieved them*.”

οὐκ ἔα=“and he tried to dissuade them.” Thucyd. vi. 72.

31. How far the Nile is known.

πέραξ=“*beyond* and except.”

τοσοῦτοι γὰρ συμβαλλομένοις μῆνες. Wesseling states that Aristides differs from Herodotus in the number of *months* consumed in the journey from Elephantine to Automoli.

32, 33. The expedition of the Nasamones into Central Africa.

Νασαμώνας. These dwelt about the Syrtes, and by them the trade with Inner Africa was carried on. See Heeren.

ὑβριστὰς=“insolent,” “reckless.”

τῆς γὰρ Λιβύης. See iv. 181. According to Heeren this division of Northern Africa is based upon the natural features of the country, and corresponds to the modern names of Barbary, Biledulgerid, and Sahara.

τὴν βορρῆν θάλασσαν=“the Mediterranean Sea,” towards the north.

ἄπτεσθαι τοῦ καρποῦ=“to lay hold of,” and so “to eat.” So Thucyd. ii. 50, and Cicero’s uses of “attigissent” in the *same* sense. The fruit is supposed to have been the *butter tree*.

ἄνδρας μικροῦς. That men of very small stature exist in Africa has been always believed, and on good authority.

ἀπικέσθαι ἐς πόλιν. This city is supposed to be “Timbuctoo,” and the river to have been the “Niger.”

ἐκ τῶν ἴσων μέτρων=“from an equally remote point,” i. e. from a point corresponding to the Ister, their sources being in corresponding quarters. See Arnold’s *Rom. Hist.* Vol. i. p. 491.

Ἰστρίην, now called “Histria.” Ovid in *Trist.* iii. 9:

“Hoc quoque Miletō missi venere coloni,
Inde Getæ Graias constituere domos.”

34. Nile and Danube compared.

ἐπ’ ὅσον μακρότατον ἱστορεῖντα. See Thucyd. i. 1, ἐπὶ μακρότατον σκοποῦντι. See ii. 29, and i. 171.

ἡ δὲ Σινώπη τῷ Ἴστρῳ, κ.τ.λ. Blakesley observes that probably a merchant-vessel going from the Ister to Phasis would lay her course for Sinope, or on the opposite course run for the Ister from Sinope.

35. Description of Egypt, continued.

λόγου μέζω = "too great for description," surpassing description.

ἐστήσαντο ἥθεα, κ.τ.λ. = "have established for themselves customs and manners, for the greater part entirely different from those of the rest of mankind."

ἀνδρες ὑφαινουσι. Compare Soph. *Æd. Col.* 333:

ἐκεῖ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἄρσενες κατὰ στέγας
θακούσιν ἰσουργοῦντες· αἱ δὲ σύννομοι
τάξω βίου τροφεία πορσύνουσ' ἀέλ.

ἱρᾶται γυνή. Wilkinson thinks that *women* were excluded only from the higher office of the priesthood.

μὴ βουλομένοισι = "supposing they do not wish it;" force of μὴ with the *participle*.

36. Customs of the Egyptians.

ὑπὸ τοὺς θανάτους = "at the time of death."

δρεῖδος μέγιστόν ἐστι. This is equally extravagant (as his other extreme assertions) according to Rawlinson, who says that though they also cultivated the *holcus sorghum* or (*doora*), and poor people may have used it, as at the present day, when they could not afford *wheaten* bread, it does not follow that the custom was obligatory, or ever adopted by an Egyptian of rank, and the assertion of Herodotus is on a par with Dr Johnson's definition of "*oats*."

ζεῖαδ = "spelt." ἄλυρα = "rye." σταῖς = "wheaten dough" in a state of *consistency* (ἰστημι).

διφασίοισι δὲ γράμμασι χρέωνται. Wilkinson tells us the Egyptians used *three* kinds of characters: the *hieroglyphic*, the *hieratic*, and the *enchorial*. Herodotus mentions only two, the *sacred* and *demotic*; but as he speaks of their writing from left to right, it is possible that here he only alludes to the two cursory characters, the *hieratic* and *enchorial*, without comprehending the hieroglyphics under the head of *writing*.

37. Religious customs.

νόμοισι τοιοῖσιδε χρέωνται = "use customs such as the following."

ἐσθήτα δὲ φορέουσι οἱ ἱεεῖς, κ.τ.λ. = "and the priests wear no other dress but a *linen* one, and no other shoes but those made of the papyrus plant."

οἶνος ἀμπέλινος = "grape wine," as distinguished from οἶνος ἐκ κριθέων = "*barley* wine," i. e. "beer," in II. 77.

τρώγουσι = "eat raw;" hence τρώκτᾱ and τρώξιμα.

ἀρχιέρεως, a form peculiar to Herodotus for ἀρχιέρεος.

ἀντικαθίσταται = "is established in his place."

38. Religious customs.

τοῦ Ἐπάφου. See Herod. ii. 153, ὁ δὲ Ἄπις κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσάν ἐστιν Ἐπαφος. Herodotus simply substitutes the Hellenic equivalent for the Egyptian Deity Apis. There can be no doubt, says Blakesley, that the Egyptian Deity is the *original one*: but the Greeks, after their usual wont, to account for all the legends they found by a reference to their own mythology and language, derived Epaphus from ἐπαφείς, as Æschylus, *Prom.* 848:

ἐνταῦθα δὴ σε Ζεὺς τίθησιν ἔμφρονα
ἐπαφῶν ἀταρβεί χειρὶ καὶ θίγων μύγον.
ἐπώνυμον δὲ τῶν Διὸς γεννημάτων
τέξεις κελαιὺν Ἐπαφον.

39. Mode of sacrifice.

ἐπ' αὐτοῦ. Supply βωμοῦ.

κατὰ τοῦ ἱρῆου = "down upon the victim."

ἀπ' ὧν ἔδοντο = "they were wont then to give it away for *their own advantage*," i. e. to *sell* it. Observe, this is a case of *tnesis*.

καταρέονται δὲ...τῇσι κεφαλῇσι. Compare Leviticus xvi. 21, 22, "And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting *them upon the head of the goat*, and shall send him away by the hand of a fit man into the wilderness: and the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities unto a land not inhabited."

40. The sacrifices to Isis.

ἡ ἐξάλρεσις = "the *disembowelling*" = Lat. "exenteratio."

ἡγνῆται εἶναι = "believe to be," not merely *think*, = νομίζω.

κενὴν = κενήν. τὴν ὀσφύν = "the hip."

ἄρτων καθαρῶν = "pieces of *fine* bread;" made of *fine unmixed* flour.

ἀποτύψωνται = "when *they have ceased* striking themselves." Valckenaer renders by "ubi plangere *desierint*."

41. Cows never killed, as sacred to Isis.

καθαροῦς βοῦς = "oxen without *mark* or *blemish*."

οὐδὲ κρέως...γεύσεται. Genesis xliii. 32, "Because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews; for that is an abomination unto the Egyptians."

Ἀτάρβηχης = "*Aphroditopolis*." Athar = Venus, and Night (which contained the seeds and elements of all things); while Becis = Bech, or city, as Baalbech = the city of Baal.

ἰδρῦνται = ἰδρυνται, or ἰδρυμένον ἔχουσι.

42. Isis and Osiris, the only deities common to all Egypt.

νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαίου = "of the Theban *district*" or "*province*."

Ἰσις τε καὶ Ὅσιριος. These Deities in their *attributes* comprehended all *natural* Deities. (α) Osiris, *the Sun*, symbolised by a *bull*, represented the generating principle of nature, and elsewhere he was Anubis, Bacchus, Apollo, Dionysus, Jupiter, and Pan. (β) Isis, the Moon, symbolised by a cow, represented the productive powers of nature, and was the Venus of Cyprus, Minerva of Athens, Cybele of Phrygia, Bellona of the Romans, Ceres of Eleusis, Diana of Crete, and the Proserpine of Sicily.

τοῦ Μένδητος. Mendes, now *Mansoura*, gave its name to the Mandesian mouth of the Nile, twenty-one miles eastward of the Phatnitic or Damietta mouth.

43. Heracles, one of their twelve Deities.

τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. "This expression is a striking evidence of the colour which Hellenic channels gave to the facts received by the author. There is no Egyptian *name* in the least degree corresponding to Heracles: those of the Deities which are identified with him being Sem or Som and Chon. The only way in which a sense can be attached to the author's remark, is to consider that he looks upon the form in which the Egyptian mythology was cast by the naturalized Greeks of his time as genuine Egyptian, losing sight (except in a few instances) of the fact of this being a mere adopted translation." Blakesley.

ἐν δὲ καὶ τόδε="and amongst them (the proofs) also the following one."

44. Visit of Herodotus to Tyre to inquire about Heracles.

θέλων εἰδέναι="being *determined* to know," as opp. to mere *will* or *preference*, implied in βούλομαι.

Τύρον. The Tyrian Hercules was *Melcarth*.

σμαράγδου λίθου="emerald-like glass." A very old invention was the *staining* of glass in Egypt.

λάμποντος τὰς νύκτας μέγας="shining a *deal* during the nights." Acc. to Jelf=μεγάλην λαμπάδα.

Θάσον, now "Tasso." Its rich mines would of course be an attraction to the Phœnicians.

45. Legends about Hercules.

ὑπὸ πομπῆς="in procession."

τέως μὲν ἡσυχίην ἔχειν="for a while indeed *kept* quiet" (as we say).

ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ κατάρχοντο="but when they proceeded to begin the sacrifices upon him at the altar" (by cutting off his hair).

ἐς ἀλκὴν τραπεύμενον="betaking himself to his *strength*." See Thucyd. II. 84.

κὼς ἂν θύοιεν="how could they *possibly* sacrifice."

φύσιν ἔχει="how could he have the *physical* power,"=πὼς πέφυκε.

46. The Mendesians consider the goat sacred.

Αἰγυπτίων οἱ εἰρημένοι, i. e. the Mendesians.

αἰγυπρόσωπον καὶ τραγοσκελέα = "with the *face* of the *she-goat* and the legs of the *he-goat*." Observe that αἶξ is from αἴσσω, and is properly "the *springer*," the female goat being supposed to be more *agile*, while τράγος is either from τραχὺς, "the *rougher*," or from θριξ, "the more *shaggy*" animal than the *she-goat*. It has been said that the he-goats have their lower limbs more covered with *hair*, and look *rougher* than the she-goats. We have no faith in the derivation of τράγος from τρώγω = "to nibble."

47. Detestation of the swine and the swine-herds.

ἥν τις ψάύσῃ αὐτῶν παριῶν, κ.τ.λ. = "should any one of them in passing by touch a pig *merely with his outer garments*." The χιτῶν was the *inner* garment. So in the Greek Testament the woman is represented as touching the ἱματίου κράσπεδον = "the edge of the *outer* garment."

ἐκδίδοσθαι = "to give (*out from one's home*) in marriage."

ἄγεσθαι = "to bring to (*one's home*) in marriage," like the Lat. "ducere in matrimonium." See IV. 145, *Odyss.* O. 237.

ἀπεστουγῆκασιν = "they have and have had a settled *hatred* for."

ἐπεὰν θύσῃ. Supply ὁ θυτήρ.

τῇν οὐρὴν ἄκρην = "the *tip* of the tail." In Latin and Greek these are adjectives, which are only *partial* attributes, describing not the *whole* of the object, but only a *part* of it, as in the case of ἄκρην here. Compare the Latin "extremus," "summus," "imus," "medius," &c. denoting respectively "the *end*," "the *top*," "the *bottom*," "the *middle*" of those objects which they respectively qualify.

οὐκ ἂν ἔτι γευσάτο = "they could not any longer possibly taste it." ἂν always strengthens the *negative*.

σταυτίνας = "of dough." See Thucyd. I. 126.

48. A pig offered in sacrifice to Dionysus.

τῆς ὁρῆς τῇ δοπλίῃ = "on the eve of the feast."

49. Melampus conversant with the Egyptian rites of Dionysus.

ἀπρεκέως μὲν οὐ πάντα, κ.τ.λ. = "he did not clearly and comprehensively *put together* (or *grasp*) the whole account (of the matter), and (so) *explain* it."

οἱ ἐπιγενόμενοι τούτῳ = "those who came *after* him."

τὸν τῷ Διονύσῳ πεμπόμενον = "carried in procession *in honour* of Dionysus."

κατηγορήσάμενος = "having given a *detailed* account of," as opp. to ἐσηγήσασθαι (*infra*) = "to have *conveyed* (among the Greeks) information about."

συμπεσείν = "fall in with," "coincide with."

ἐς τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίνην. See Thucyd. I. 12.

50. The Greek names of the Deities, partly Pelasgian and partly Egyptian.

εὕρισκω ἐόν = "I find to be a reality."

ὅτι δὴ μὴ = "mark the exception, that."

λέγω δέ = "I say, observe."

νομίζουσι... ἡρώσι οὐδέν = "are wont to pay no religious observance to heroes."

51. The Pelasgians originated the Priapic Hermæ.

νενομίκασι = "have been and are accustomed to use."

πρῶτοι μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων, κ.τ.λ. = "and the Athenians are the first of all the Greeks, without exception, who received this (custom) from (the Pelasgians)."

ἤδη τηλικαῦτα ἐς Ἑλλήνας τελέουσιν = "even at this time being reckoned among the Hellenes."

Καβείρων. These were the "Magni Dii," adored in the mysteries of Samothrace. They were especially Ceres, Proserpine, Pluto, and the Egyptian Mercury, with Pan.

οἶδε τὸ λέγω = "knows what I mean."

τὰ ἐν τοῖσι ἐν Σαμοθρίκῃ = κατὰ τὰ, α, κ.τ.λ.

52. The Pelasgian Gods nameless.

ἐπωνυμίην δὲ οὐδ' ὄνομα ἐποιεῖντο, κ.τ.λ. = "but had no *distinct names or appellations* for them." Rawlinson, on the other hand (Mure Vol. I. p. 73, of *Greek Literature*), observes, "Herodotus says that 'formerly the Pelasgians had no separate names for the Gods, until they learned them from the Egyptians.' The historian must be presumed to use the phrase ὄνομα in this passage, not in the *literal* sense, but in that of *denomination, personality, character*: for it were difficult, certainly, to imagine two sets of names differing more entirely from each other than those of Zeus and Ammon, Apollo and Hor, Artemis and Bubastis, Hermes and Thôt. The contrast might be extended through the whole Pantheon."

προσωνόμασαν, κ.τ.λ. = "they *applied* to them the name of Gods (*θεοὶ* = 'disposers') from some such circumstance as this, because they disposed in beautiful order all the things in the universe, and maintained all such dispositions." This account would derive *θεός* from *τίθημι*, in the sense of "*disposing*;" others derived it from the sense of "*laying*" (the *foundations* of the world), as "*Creators*." Plato derived it from *θέω* = "to run," because the Gods first worshipped were the sun, moon, and stars. Modern philologists derive it from the same root as *Deus, Diva, Διός*.

53. Homer and Hesiod formed the Hellenic Theogony.

οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην "Ἑλλησι. Grote makes it out from this passage that Homer and Hesiod *invented* the Greek Theogony. Wesseling, Creuzer, Wyttenbach and others explain it as stating merely the introduction of the deities *into popular poetry* (ποιήσαντες), and investing them with the shapes, passions, and characters of men.

οἱ δὲ πρότερον ποιηταὶ λεγόμενοι. Bähr thinks that Herodotus does not here mean to deny the existence of Orpheus, Musæus, Linus, Eumolpus, and other poets before Homer, but to maintain that their professed poems were spurious, and of subsequent origin.

54, 55. The Egyptian account of the oracles of Ammon and Dodona.

ἐς Λιβύην πρῆθείσαν = "sold and carried into Libya." The verb is here pregnant.

ἔφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα = "they said in reply to these things."

ἀνυρεῖν = "to find *by inquiry*" (by tracing upwards).

προμάντιες. The πρόμαντις was the special title of the Pythian or Delphic priestess, who gave out the oracles. Compare προφήτης.

ἐπὶ φηγόν = "upon the *esculent oak*" (from φάγω), not the *beech*, as some would render it, erroneously connecting it with the Lat. "*fagus*."

οἱ ἄλλοι Δωδωναῖοι, i.e. the Selli. See Arnold's *Rome*, Vol. II. p. 638.

56, 57. Herodotus comments on this strange story.

τὴν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπέδοντο = "and took into Greece and sold the other (woman) there."

πεφυκυῖη = "of nature's growth."

κατηγήσατο = "declared *in detail* or in *express terms*."

ἐπὶ τοῦδε. So in I. 14, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπωρυμνῆν.

καὶ τῶν ἱρῶν ἡ μαντικὴ = "the art of divination from victims too."

58, 59. Egyptian pilgrimages.

προσαγωγὰς = "bringing of offerings in procession;" or *supplications*, some say, "introduction," to the shrine.

ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Δέλτα = "in the *centre* of the Egyptian Delta." See on the *partial* attribute, II. 47.

Σαῖν πόλιν. Sais, now Sa-el-Hagar, lay a few miles west of Busiris.

60, 61. Processions and festivals of Egyptian deities.

κρόταλα...κροταλίζουσι = "they *rattle* their *rattles*." acc. of the *cognate* word.

ἐν τῷ ἅπαντι ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ ἐπιλοίπῳ = "than in all the rest of the year *that remains, without any exception*."

τὸν δὲ τύπτονται = "but in honour of whom they beat themselves."

62, 63. Other festivals at Sais and Heliopolis.

ἐμβάφια = "vessels"—compare our "dips"—probably made of *glass*, acc. to Wilkinson.

ἐπιπολῆς = "on the *surface*."

ἀνὰ πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον = "up and down, from the *bottom* to the *top* of Egypt." κατὰ = would be "from the *top* to the *bottom*."

θυσίας καὶ ἱρὰ = "*sacrifices* and *ceremonies*."

ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα = "on the *other side*" (properly, looking "*towards the other things*").

οἱ δὲ εὐχωλιμαῖοι = "now those who are bound by a *vow*."

κεφαλὰς τε συναρᾶσσονται = "and they smash *each other's heads*" (force of the compound verb).

64. Popular legends.

ἀπότροφον = "reared far away from (his parents)."

τοιαῦτα ἐπιλέγοντες = "*reckoning up such things*," i. e. give such reasons for their conduct.

65. The Egyptian animal worship.

σύντροφα = "*domesticated*" = "*reared along with*" (man).

ἀνέιται = "set free," allowed to range at large. Literally it means "given up" (to their own inclination or power).

τὴν τίμην = "the *honourable charge*."

ἰστᾶσι σταθμῷ πρὸς ἀργύριον τὰς τρίχας = "they weigh the hair in a scale against a *bit* of silver:" literally, they make the hair to *stand* in the *standing* scale against the bit of silver, i. e. the scale on which the hair is, is made to *stand even* with the scale on which the money is: hence the σταθμὸς of the Greeks, and the "*stare*," "*to cost*," of the Romans, and our common idiom, "*it stands me so much*."

τὸ δ' ἂν ἐλκύσῃ = "but whatever money the hair may have drawn down," i. e. weighed in the scale.

ἱρῆκα = "the falcon." Compare Scott's *Marmion*, Canto 1:

"E'en such a falcon, on his shield,
Soared sable in an azure field;
The golden legend bore aright,
Who checks at me, to death is dight."

The *falcon* was an emblem of the *soul*, and is found at the entrances of the Egyptian tombs.

66. Peculiar habits of the cat.

διαστάντες = "having stationed themselves at *intervals*."

διαδύοντες καὶ ὑπερθρώσκοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους = "slipping through and bounding over the men."

καταλαμβάνει = "comes down upon and seizes;" pregnant sense. Herodotus is peculiarly fond of this word in describing heavy calamities.

ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου = "by a natural death."

67. Cat mummies at Bubastis.

τὰς μυγαλὰς = "shrew-mice." Blakesley observes, "that the story ran in later times that Latona, when nursing Horus, changed herself into one of these animals to escape the pursuit of Typhon by burrowing in the earth." Plutarch says, the animal being regarded as blind was considered an emblem of primeval darkness. The mummies of the shrew-mouse are said to be found at Thebes, Buto, and *Athribis*, probably the *Atarbechis* of Herodotus.

68, 69, 70. The crocodile of Egypt.

ἐκλέπει = "shells" or "hatches."

θερμότερον γὰρ δὴ, κ.τ.λ. According to Larcher, the water which had become heated during the day-time retains the heat during the night, and then is warmer than the air and the dew.

κατὰ λόγον τοῦ ὧσὶ γίνεται = "is born (in size) in proportion to the egg."

γλῶσσαν δὲ μόνον, κ.τ.λ. = "now this is the only animal that has not a tongue naturally."

οὐδὲ τὴν κάτω κινεῖ γνάθον, κ.τ.λ. Rawlinson here observes, "the story of its moving its upper jaw is owing to its throwing up its whole head when it seizes its prey, at the same time that it really moves its lower jaw downwards."

ἀρτήματα λίθινα χυτὰ: "pendants of molten stone," i.e. of glass, which was most probably invented in Egypt, and carried to an extraordinary perfection in its manufacture.

κροκοδείλους δὲ Ἴωνες ὠνόμασαν. Rawlinson observes, that *κροκόδειλος* was the term given by the Ionians to the lizards, as the Portuguese *al legato*, "the lizard," is the origin of our *alligator*. The Ionians here mentioned are the descendants of the Ionian soldiers of Psammetichus. The crocodile is not the Leviathan of Job xli., as some have supposed. Isaiah xxvii. 1, calls Leviathan "the piercing serpent," and "that crooked serpent," corresponding to the Aphophis, or "great serpent" of Egypt, the emblem of *sin*.

δελεάση. Supply ὁ θηρευτής, "the hunter."

71, 72, 73. The river-horse and other animals described.

ξύστα ἀκόντια = "the shafts of javelins," Lat. "*hastilia jaculorum*." The hippopotamus was probably the *Behemoth* of Job, that "eateth grass like an ox."

ἐνύδριες = "otters."

τοὺς χηναλώπεκας = "fox-geese."

διὰ ἐτέων...πεντακοσίω. Creuzer refers the story of the Phœnix to *astronomical* computations; and supposes the arrival of this imaginary bird at Heliopolis to have been the symbol of the completion of the *magnus annus* amongst the Egyptians.

τῇ γραφῇ παρόμοιος = "closely corresponding to the picture."

περιήγησιν = περιγράφηγιν = "in outline," or "the contour."

74, 75. The snakes of Egypt.

οἱ μεγάλοι ἐόντες μικροὶ = "who being small in size." Among the Egyptians the serpent was the symbol of *immortality*, and among the Christians of the *resurrection*.

κατὰ Βουτοῦν πῶλον = "lying in a line with the city Buto."

τῶν πτερωτῶν ὀφίων = "the winged serpents." Compare Isaiah: "The burden of the beasts of the South, from whence come the *viper* and the *flying fiery serpent*." Wilkinson observes that "the winged serpents of Herodotus have puzzled many persons from the time of Pausanias to the present day. The Egyptian sculptures represent some emblematic snakes with bird's wings and human legs. The *Draco volans* of Linnæus has wings, which might answer to the description given by Herodotus, but it does not frequent Egypt."

76. Description of the Ibis.

μέλαινα δεινῶς πᾶσα = "marvellously black all over."

τῶν δ' ἐν ποσὶ μᾶλλον εἰλευμένων τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι. Buttmann, speaking of εἰλεῖν, observes in p. 268 (*Lexilogus*): "The passive form of this verb occurs again in another sense, which has been compared with the Latin '*versari*,' and that as early as Herodotus, who (II. 76) distinguishes one species of the Ibis from the common sort with this expression (the passage being quoted); where ἐν ποσὶ means nothing more than *near at hand*, as at III. 79, ἔκτεινον πάντα τινὰ τῶν Μάγων τὸν ἐν ποσὶ γινόμενον = 'every one who chanced to come *near* them, to come in their way.'...In this expression εἰλεῖσθαι answers to our phrase '*to be busy about anything*.' And as nothing has occurred to show that the idea of to move and turn about and around is a radical one in this word, we must suppose that it found its way into use from the *frequentative* meaning of the present. That is to say, the meaning '*to be pushed*,' or '*to thrust and push oneself*,' readily takes in the present, particularly in Greek, the collateral idea of *commonly*, *constantly*, which, when we are speaking of the space in which this is done, naturally and of itself calls up the idea of *backwards and forwards*, or the corresponding one of *around* and *about*. To this appears to belong the meaning which the word has occasionally in the later Greek, *to wind round* = *to press itself round*, or *cling*."

77. Peculiar habits of some Egyptians.

μνήμην ἀνθρώπων πάντων ἐπασκέοντες μάλιστα = "cultivating in an especial manner and as far as possible the memory of all their (dis-

tinguished) men." Compare the Latin expression "*rerum gestarum memoriam præcipuè excolentes*." It is in the *country* rather than in the *town*, as a general rule, that the *legends* and the *language* of the past linger longest, and are most *beloved*: towns, and especially *commercial* towns, are influenced by so many new changes, that the *old* has but little chance of surviving the innovations brought about.

78. Custom at entertainments.

πάντη. Blakesley observes, "this word, when applied to *measurement*, always means '*in every dimension*.' Here, therefore, it would imply that the mummy was of a critical figure, which there seems no reason to suppose. I suspect the word has slipped out of its place, and that originally it occupied the site of the words *καὶ γραφῇ καὶ ἔργῳ*, which crept in from the margin as an interpretation of it."

79. Egyptian Maneros same as the Greek Linus.

ἄλλον οὐδένα ἐπικτέωνται = "they take to themselves *in addition* no other" (custom).

ἀποθωνμάζειν = "to be *lost* in wonder at."

ὁ Λίνος = "the Linus," just as νόμον τὸν ὀρθιον (I. 24), "*the martial strain*." The article marks the thing as well known and understood. According to Wilkinson, Linus and Maneros were probably the genius or impersonation of song. The Egyptians now use "ya laylee! ya layl!" as a chorus for lively songs, meaning, "O my joy, O night!" alluding to the wedding-night: "ya laylee, doos, ya laylee!" "O my joy; stop, O my joy!" alluding to the dance. Compare Hebrew Hallel, "singing, praising," whence "hallelu-iah."

80. Reverence for the aged.

εἰκουσι τῆς ὁδοῦ. Valckenaer compares Aristophanes' *Clouds*, 989:

καὶ τῶν θώκων τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ὑπανίστασθαι προσιοῦσι.

προσκυνέουσι = "do homage" or "*obedience* to;" properly, "*fawning on one, like a dog*," from πρὸς—κύνων ("dog"). Compare the old English verb "to spaniel."

81, 82. Wearing of linen, and astrology.

ἐπαναβληδόν = "throwing them *in addition* over these."

ὁμολογεῖν δὲ ταῦτα, κ.τ.λ. The Egyptian priests, according to Diodorus Siculus, I. 96, affirmed that Orpheus had derived most of his mysteries from Egypt. See II. 49.

θεῶν ὅτεν ἐστί. Supply ἰρή.

ὅτεοις ἐγκυρήσει = "what he will fall in with."

οἱ ἐν ποιήσει γενόμενοι = "who have been engaged in poetry, or composition."

83, 84. Oracles and medical professors.

ᾧδε διακέεται = "is thus disposed" or *situated*, is in the following state or condition.

αἱ γὰρ μαντήϊαι = "the methods of giving oracles."

ἱητροὶ κατεστέασι = "physicians were established" (by Government), who received fees from the *rich*, and gave "advice to the poor *gratis*." Wilkinson observes, "Not only was the study of medicine of very early date in Egypt, but medical men there were in such repute that they were sent for at various times from other countries. Their knowledge of medicine is celebrated by Homer (*Od.* iv. 229), who describes Polydamna, the wife of Thonis, as giving medicinal plants 'to Helen, in Egypt, a country producing an infinite number of drugs.'"

85. Funeral lamentations.

στρωφώμεναι = "turning themselves in all directions." The frequentative and intensive form of στρέφω, as "versor" in Latin is of "verto."

ἐπεζωσμέναι = "having their clothes girt up." Compare the Latin "succincti."

φαίνουσαι τοὺς μαζοὺς = "exposing to view their breasts."

μαζοὺς. Blakesley observes, "the girdle prevented the tunic from falling lower than the waist, which, when loosened for the purpose of beating the breast, it would otherwise have done."

86. Embalming: three different methods.

παράδειγματα νεκρῶν ξύλινα = "wooden patterns of corpses."

τὴν μὲν σπουδαιοτάτην...κατὰ ἥντινα. Supply in both of these cases the word ταρίχευσιν.

εὐτελεστέρην = "more easy to pay for." (τέλος = "toll," i. e. payment.)

τὸν ἐγκέφαλον (supply μυελὸν) = "the head (marrow)," i. e. the brain.

ἐγχεόντες φάρμακα = "pouring in drugs" (to decompose the brain, which could not be extracted).

μετὰ δὲ = "now, afterwards." As in Homer, so in Herodotus, we often find the prepositions used in an *adverbial sense*.

87. Embalming.

τοὺς δὲ τὰ μέσα βουλομένους = "with respect to those wishing for the intermediate mode of interment."

σκευάζουσι. Supply σφί τὸν νεκρὸν = "their own dead relative."

ἐπιλαβόντες = "stopping up" (to prevent it from getting back).

πρηγματευθέντες. Supply περὶ τὸν νεκρὸν.

88. Embalming.

ἀπ' ὧν ἔδωκαν ἀποφέρεισθαι = "then they returned it for the purpose of being carried away."

89. ἐπεὰν τριταῖαι ἢ τεταρταῖαι γένωνται="when they are *dead* for *three or four days*." Observe the duration of time expressed by the ending -αιος, derived from ordinal numbers.

κατεῖπαι="immediately denounced it" (force of aorist).

90. Bodies drowned or taken by crocodiles.

περιστειλαντας="componentes," Lat.

τῶν προσηγόντων="those belonging to them," i.e. relations.

91. Chemmis, an account of.

τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν="now to take *all*, we have to say, *together*," i.e. "in short."

νομαίοισι=νομίμοις="ordinances" or "customs."

Χέμμις πόλις. Chemmis, or Panopolis, was in the Thebaïs, on the eastern bank of the Nile. The modern Akhmyn retains traces of the ancient name.

Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης. Creuzer makes the Egyptian Perseus identical with the Sun, and so with Osiris and the Nile.

πρόπυλα=προπύλαια.

σανδάλιον. According to Wilkinson, one of the Colleges of Dervishes at Cairo shows the *shoe* of their founder, which is of immense size: so too in Bk. iv. 82, we find a footprint of Hercules, of similar dimensions, shown in Scythia.

ὅ τι σφι μούνοισι=διότι σφι μούνοισι.

ἀναγνῶναι="recognised," not "read."

92. Habits of the marshmen.

κρίνεα πολλά, κ.τ.λ. Herodotus mentions *two* kinds of *lilies* or *lotuses*. The first, called *Nymphaea lotus*, is found in the neighbourhood of Damietta, and eaten by the people there; the second, called *Nymphaea nelumbo*, no longer exists in Egypt, though its figure is sculptured on their *tombs*. It is very common in India.

πίσαντες="having crushed." Compare the Latin "*pinso*," "*piso*."

ἐν ἄλλῃ κάλυκι παραφυομένη="on another stem growing *alongside* of it."

τρωκτὰ ὅσον τε πυρὴν ἐλαίης="eatable grains or berries as big as the stone of an olive."

τὴν ἐπέτειον γινομένην="that comes into being every year."

διαφανεῖ="of transparent heat," i.e. of a *white* heat.

93. The fish of Egypt.

ἀγελαῖοι="gregarious."

τοῦ θοροῦ. Partitive genitive.

ἀνακάπτουσι="devour." See Aristoph. *Birds*, 579 :

καὶ σπερμολόγων, ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν τὸ σπέρμ' αὐτῶν ἀνακάψαι.

τῶν γὰρ ὠῶν, κ.τ.λ.= "they keep spawning their roe by a few eggs at a time."

διηθέοντος="straining or oozing through."

94. The Egyptian common oil.

κίκι="castor-berry," or="κροτών," whence our "Croton oil." It is the word in the Septuagint translated "gourd" in Jonah iv. 6.

ἀπιποῦσι="press out" (the juice).

95. Protection from mosquitoes.

ἀμφίβληστρον. See Horace, *Ep.* ix. 15:

"Interque signa turpe militaria
Sol aspicit conopium."

From this "*conopium*," the protection against the mosquitoes (πρὸς τοὺς κώνωπας), comes the English word "*canopy*," for any covering.

96. The boats on the river.

τὰς ἀρμονίας ἐν ᾧ ἐπάκτωσαν τῇ βύβλω="they stopped up and covered over the joinings with the papyrus (plant)."

διὰ τῆς τρύπιος διαβύνεται="makes its way through the keel."

λαμπρὸς ἀνεμος="a clear wind," or "a fair wind."

97. The time of inundation.

διὰ μέσου τοῦ πεδίου. See Virg. *Georg.* iv. 287 :

"Nam quâ Pellæi gens fortunata Canopi
Adcolit effuso stagnantem flumine Nilum
Et circum pictis vehitur sua rura phaselis."

Ναυκράτις. Naucratis, somewhat to the north of Saïs, was the great mart of the Greeks in Egypt. See Herod. ii. 178.

ἔστι δὲ οὐκ οὗτος="but this is not the usual course."

98, 99. Navigation of Egypt.

Ἀνθυλλα=Gynæopolis, according to Larcher.

τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος="of him who happens to be king from time to time." See Thuc. i. 2.

τοῦτο μὲν="this then is the first care." Here μὲν is in its proper and earliest sense, from μ(εις, ια, εν)="the one" thing that comes first; as opp. to δε(ν) for δύω. The corresponding τοῦτο δὲ is at the close of this chapter.

τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν ὀχρεῦσαι, κ.τ.λ.= "formed a new channel for the river, so that it flowed in the midst between the mountains."

100. The Egyptian kings after their first king Mên.

μία δὲ γυνὴ ἐπιχωρή. Blakesley well observes here, "that the patriotism of the Egyptians would not allow them to consider Nitocris a foreigner is not to be wondered at. They laid claim to Cambyse in the face (according to Herodotus) of facts of which they could not possibly be ignorant. See III. 2. The name *Nitocris* is only the Hellenized form of Neit-okr, a name which, according to Champollion and others, appears on the monuments, and is equivalent to Ἀθήνη Νίκη, an interpretation which was actually given to the word by Eratosthenes. The identity of the Egyptian Νηθ with the Hellenic Athenê had been remarked by Plato (*Timon*, I. p. 21), and the etymological connection of *Neith* with *Anaitis* is the same as that of *Dercato* with *Atergates*, *Cyphas* with *Acyphas*, *στάχυς* with *ασταχὺς*, *λαπάξω* with *ἀλαπάξω*, *τεῖνω* with *ἀτένης*; or of *νῆσσα* with the Latin *anas*, *ποτὶ* with *aput*, *τραχὺς* and *trux* with *atrox*, *ράχος* and *ἀράχνη* with *aranea*, *λάχνη* and *λάχανον* with *alga*, and probably *κελαινός* with *aquila* and *aquilo*. The interchange of the elementary structure an-th, and ath-n may be illustrated by the pairs *δεινός* and *κινόδος*, *δθνείος* and *νοθείος*, *ξηρός* and *σκιρρός*, and the English *ask* and its archaic but now vulgar *axe*. It may be observed, that the Egyptian name remained at Thebes of Bœotia on the Νηῖται πύλαι (*Æschylus, Theb.* 460)."

101. King Mœris.

τὰν δὲ ἄλλων βασιλέων οὐ γὰρ ἔλεγον, κ.τ.λ. = "(I believe) that next to no distinction belonged to all the other kings, for (people) did not mention any manifestation of their deeds, with the exception of one, their last king, called Mœris." Βασιλέων here seems the genitive of *possession*; λαμπρότητος, the *partitive genitive*.

102. Sesostris—his deeds.

Σέσωστρις. According to Rawlinson this was the first king of the twelfth dynasty, Osirtasen, or Sesortasen I., who was the first great Egyptian conqueror; but when Osirei or Sethi (Sethos) and his son Remeses II. surpassed the exploits of their predecessor, the name of Sesostris became confounded with Sethos, and the conquests of that king and his still greater son were ascribed to the still greater Sesostris.

πρῶτον ὁρμηθέντα = "was the first who set out." Observe that *πρῶτος* here is *personal*, and not *adverbial*.

βραχέων. Compare the Latin expression "*brevia et syrtes*."

διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου = "from place to place, throughout the continent." Observe here the force of the genitive case with a *local* noun.

τὸ ἐμποδῶν = "that came in his way," or "that stood in his way." Compare the Latin "*impedimentum*" and the English "*impediment*," derived therefrom.

γλιχομένοισι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας = "struggling for their freedom, from the love of it."

παρέλαβε = "he won over to his side."

103. Sesostris subdues the Scythians.

διεξήλθε = "he proceeded to go *completely* through (the continent)."

καὶ προσώτατα = "even at the *farthest*."

φαίνονται σταθεῖσαι = "were *evidently* erected;" but φαίνονται σταθεῖναι = "seem to be erected." In the former case we have the expression of a fact in the *participial* form, and its impression on the mind in the *purely verbal* form (see note on 1. 5); in the latter case we have merely the expression of an *opinion*.

μῶριον ὅσον δὴ = "a *small* portion of whatever size it might be." δὴ makes the definite word preceding it still more definite, and the *indefinite* word still more *indefinite*.

104. The Colchians of Egyptian extraction.

φαίνονται μὲν γὰρ ἔδντες οἱ Κόλχοι, κ.τ.λ. = "for assuredly the Colchians are *evidently* and really Egyptians." See note on previous chapter for the force of φαίνονται with a *participle*.

μελάγχροες καὶ οὐλότριχες = "of a *dark brown* complexion and curly hair," acc. to Heeren.

ἀπ' ἀρχῆς = "from the beginning;" i. e. from *very early* life.

Σύροι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ. Here Herodotus only means those who occupied the *sea-coast* among the Phœnicians and Philistines; for his silence on Jewish history is the best proof we can have that he did not visit, nor yet inquire about the *interior* of the country.

ἐπιμισγόμενοι Αἰγύπτῳ = "by their *extended* intercourse with Egypt." (Such here is the force of the *preposition*.)

105. Colchian and Egyptian mode of manufacturing linen similar.

φέρει νυν καὶ ἄλλο εἶπω περὶ τῶν Κόλχων = "bear (with me) now, and I may tell (you) another thing about these Colchians."

Σαρδονικὸν for Σαρδιανικόν. Compare Aristoph. βάμμα Σαρδιανικόν.

106. Remains of Sesostris' columns.

οὐκέτι φαίνονται περιεῶσαι = "*evidently* no longer survive."

δύο τύποι. The latter of these two reliefs was discovered in the year 1817. See an interesting account of it in the *Classical Museum*, Vol. 1. p. 232.

μέγας πῆμπτης σπιθαμῆς = "of the size of four cubits and a half." See I. 51.

107. Danger and escape of Sesostris.

περινηῆσαι...τὴν οἰκίαν ὕλη. Diodorus tells us that he *surrounded* the tent, in which Sesostris and his family were staying, with reeds, and set fire to them during the night.

ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν ἐκτείναντα. This is but a confirmation of the common Moloch-worship amongst the ancient heathen, by which parents were obliged to make "their children pass through the fire" to that god.

108. Punishes his brother: employment of *captives*.

παντοίους τρόπους ἔχουσαι = "having turns in every direction."

πλατυτέροιαι = "more brackish." The sea-water is described as πλατὺ ὕδωρ, and Hesychius explains πλατὺ by ἀλμυρὸν; a sense which Aristotle gives it. Compare its application to the Hellespont by Homer.

φρεάτων = "reservoirs." See Arnold's *Thuc.* II. 48.

109. Allotment of the land of Egypt.

Αἰγυπτίοισι ἅπασι = "to all the Egyptians without exception." See Genesis xlviii. for the way in which the king got possession of the land. The word ἅπας (Lat. "cunctus") in Herodotus implies = "all without exception."

τὰς προσόδους ποιήσασθαι = "created for himself those revenues." (προσόδους = "incomes," properly speaking.)

ἐπιτάξαντα ἀποφορὴν, κ.τ.λ. = "having enjoined upon them a produce-tax to pay him every year." The φόρος was the tax paid by foreign and dependent states, while the ἀποφορά is a rent paid from the fruits, or other advantages arising from the holding.

πόλον = a concave sun-dial shaped like the vault of heaven (compare "cœli polus"). Rawlinson here observes: "The gnomon was of course part of every dial. Herodotus, however, is right in making a difference between the γνώμων and the πόλος. The former, called also στοιχείον, was a perpendicular rod, whose shadow indicated noon, and also by its length a particular part of the day, being longest at sunrise and sunset. The πόλος was an improvement and a real dial, on which the division of the day was set off by lines, and indicated by the shadow of its gnomon." See also Grote's *Greek Hist.*, and *Dict. of Antiquities* (sub voce).

110. The power of Sesostris over Ethiopia.

μνημόσυνα δὲ ἐλίπετο = "now he left as memorials of himself."

Δαρεῖον δὲ οὐ δύνασθῆναι, κ.τ.λ. Arist. (*Rhet.* II. 20) seems to assert that Darius conquered Egypt prior to the expedition against Greece.

111. King Pheros and his blindness

ἀτασθαλίῃ χρησάμενον = "was guilty of using sinful presumption." See *Thuc.* vi. 59, and Homer, *passim*.

ἐξήκει = "has come to its end." Φεράων = "Pharaoh." A title, not a name.

ἀναβλέψει = "thou shalt look up;" i. e. recover thy sight. So in the New Testament

ὑποπρήσαι = "secretly set fire to," or "to fire from the bottom;" Lat. "succendere."

ἀποφυγών = "having completely escaped from."

δβελούς δύο λιθίνους. Consecrated to the Sun, whose rays they symbolised.

112. King Proteus, the Memphite.

τοῦ Ἡφαιστῆτος πρὸς νότον ἀνεμον, κ.τ.λ. = "from the temple of Vulcan towards the south (wind)," the temple being the point *from which* it commenced.

στρατόπεδον. This "camp" was really an establishment for *trade* under the protection of a sanctuary.

συμβάλλομαι = "I conjecture;" literally, "I (infer) by *throwing my thoughts together*." Compare the Latin "colligere" and the English "I collect" = (to infer).

113, 114, 115. The Egyptian account of Helen.

ἀνίει = "relax," (intransitive) for ἀνίησι.

ἐς τὸ ἣν καταφυγών, κ.τ.λ. = "into which, if any man's slave, to whomsoever he may belong, take refuge, and should allow sacred characters to be branded upon him, thus surrendering himself to the God (of the sanctuary)." These marks showed them to be dedicated to the service of the Deity, and were a symbol of *protection*. See Genesis iv. 15, and Galatians vi. 17.

διατελέει = "continues to be *in force*." Compare the Latin "per" in composition.

Θῶνις. In Homer's *Odyssey*, iv. 228, Polydamna is mentioned as the wife of *Thon*, Θῶνος παράκοιτις.

συλλάβοντες = "having seized as a *prisoner*." Lat. "comprehendere."

κατέλεξε = "laid down;" i. e. told in detail.

παρὰ τοῦ σεωντοῦ ξείνου, κ.τ.λ. = "and you got over (i. e. overcame the scruples of) the wife of your own host."

ἀναπτερύσας αὐτήν = "set her on the *wing*" in ambitious thoughts.

κερατσας = "having laid waste;" as in *Iliad*, E. 557, σταθμοὺς ἀνθρώπων κερατίζετον. The word is derived from κείρω = "to shear" (away), and is chiefly used by Homer and Herodotus.

οὐ τοι προήσω ἀπαγέσθαι = "I will not give them up to you to carry off."

τρίων ἡμερῶν = "within *three days*."

μετορμίζεσθαι = "to remove your anchorage."

εἰ δὲ μή = "on the contrary *supposition*." This formula of translation has the advantage of meeting the case of a *negative* antecedent, as well as a *positive* antecedent.

116, 117. Criticism of the legend of Helen.

ἐς δὲ μετῆκε = "for which cause he gave it up."

κατὰ γὰρ ἐποίησε, κ.τ.λ. = "according to what he composed in the *Iliad*." κατὰ = καθ' ἃ.

καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἄλλῃ ἀνεπόδισε ἑωυτὸν = "and in no other portion (of his work) has he retraced his steps;" i. e. withdrawn his statement.

Σιδῶνα, now Sayda; the word properly signifies "a fishing-place." In VIII. 67, Herodotus places Sidon before Tyre. In Genesis (x. 19) we have Sidon but not Tyre.

θεοειδής = "beautiful as a god." See *Iliad*, VI. 289. Weale's Edition.

τῶδε τὸ χωρίον = "this passage." Compare "locus" in Latin, and Coleridge, *Greek Classic Poets*, p. 50.

118, 119. The Egyptian legend of Helen.

μὴ μὲν ἔχειν, κ.τ.λ. (μὲν = μὴν) = "that assuredly they did not possess Helen, nor yet the wealth laid to their charge." μὴν is the usual formula with an oath.

δικὰς ὑπέχειν = "to give an account" (a law formula).

Ἑλένην ἀπαθέα κακῶν ἀπέλαβε. Compare the case of Abram and his wife with Pharaoh.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολλὸν τοιοῦτο = "now since some such thing as this endured for a long time." Supply χρόνον.

ἐντομὰ σφεα ἐποίησε = "made them victims (to the infernal gods)." See VIII. 191, and compare Virgil's *Æn.* II. 116:

"Sanguine placâstis ventos et virgine cæsâ
Quum primum Iliacas Danaï venistis ad oras,
Sanguine quærendi reditus."

And Lucretius, I. 83:

"quod contrâ sæpius illa
Religio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta."

With ἐντομα supply σφαγία.

120. Herodotus confirms the Egyptian legend of Helen.

φρενοβλαβής = "infatuated." Suidas explains by ὁ τὰς φρένας βεβλαμμένος.

ὥστε...ἐβούλοντο = "so that they actually wished."

ἐγλωσκον (supply κινδυνεύειν) = "resolved."

οὐκ ἔστι ὅτε οὐ = "there never was the time when not," i. e. ever, continually.

ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ = "in dependence upon that one." So VII. 10. 3.

121. The reign of Rhampsinitus.

ἀργύρου = "money." The current metal for money among the Greeks was silver. Compare the French "l'argent."

ἐπιτραφέντων = (ἐπιγενομένων) "who succeeded him," from ἐπιτρέφω.

τοῦ τῶν τοίχων ἕνα, κ.τ.λ. = "and of that (building) one of the walls on the outside formed a portion of his palace."

ἐξαίρετον = "capable of being taken out," but ἐξαιρετος = "select," that which has been taken out for distinction's sake.

οὐκ ἐς μακρὴν ἔργου ἔχεισθαι = "at no long interval (supply ὥραν) set vigorously to the work."

τὸν λίθον ἀνευρόντας = "having found by search *that* stone." The article, as in Homer, and elsewhere in Herodotus, is demonstrative.

οὐκ ἀνιναί κεραῖζοντας = "did not give up plundering."

πάγας = "traps" which hold fast (πήγνυμι).

κατὰ τοῦ τέλχεος, κ.τ.λ. = "suspended it from the wall, so that it hung downwards."

χαλεπῶς ἐλαμβάνετο = "urged him with sternness." ἐλαμ. properly = "continued her hold upon him."

ἐν κέρδει ποιευμένους = "putting it to the account of gain." Lat. "lucro apponentes."

ὀργὴν προσποιούμενον = "getting up for himself a passion," i.e. pretending anger.

παραλαμβάνειν = "took him over to their side."

παρὰ τὴν πόσιν = "along with the drinking." Latin, "inter potandum."

τοῦ βασιλέος περιγενέσθαι = "to come round the king," i.e. to overreach him.

122. Rhampsinitus' descent into Hades.

χειρόμακτρον = "a napkin." See IV. 64.

ὑπὸ δύο λύκων ἄγεσθαι. Wolves were supposed by the Egyptians to be the servants of the infernal powers, and the conductors of the dead. This arose most likely from the habits of the animal, which roams about at night, and as dawn draws on retreats to hide itself. Wilkinson says that mummies of wolves are found at Lycopolis (Essiout).

123. Egyptian conception of Dionysus and Demeter (Isis and Osiris).

ὑπόκειται ἐμοί = "it is taken for granted by me."

Δήμητρα, κ.τ.λ. Compare Virgil in *Georgics*, at the opening:

"Vos clarissima lumina mundi

Liber et alma Ceres."

124. The impious Cheops.

ἐννομίην = "good laws, well obeyed." This is the strict political sense of the word, according to Aristotle.

λίθου τε ξεστοῦ. In the same way we have the genitive so put towards the end of this Chapter, and in III. 47, ζῶων ἐνυφασμένων συγχῶν.

125. Method of building pyramids.

πυραμῖς = "pyramid." Kenrick thinks the word pyramid to be Greek on the authority of *Etym. Mag.*, Πυραμῖς, ἡ ἐκ πυρῶν καὶ μέλιτος, ὥσπερ σεσαμῖς, ἡ ἐκ σεσάμων καὶ μέλιτος. The πυραμῖς, which was pointed, and used in the Bacchic rites, may be seen on the table at the reception of Bacchus by Icarus. That the name of the mathematical solid was derived from an object of common life, and not *vice versa*, may be argued from analogy: σφαῖρα was a "hand-ball;" κύβος = "a die" for gaming; κῶνος = "a boy's top;" κύλινδρος, from "the gardener's roller."

126. Cheops' disgraceful means of raising money.

ἐπ' οἰκῆματος = "at the corner of the house:" indeed our word prostitute is properly derived from "pro-stare," the standing forth at the corner of the street. Compare the description of the strange woman in the Book of Proverbs.

ὁκόσον δὴ τι = "some money, however much it might be."

τὰ κῶλον ἑκαστον = "each side" (properly, limb).

127. King Cheops succeeded by Chephren.

οὐκ ἀνήκουσαν = "which did not actually come up to the extent (of his brother's)."

διὰ οἰκοδομημένον, κ.τ.λ. = "for, a channel having been constructed, (the Nile) washes round an island within, in that they say that Cheops lies."

τεσσεράκοντα πόδας, κ.τ.λ. = "going forty feet below the like size (of the other pyramids)."

128. The Shepherd-King Philiton.

ποιμένος Φιλιτίωνος. Observe that this information came from the Egyptians, not from the priests, who could not, from pride, have proclaimed the sovereignty of the Shepherd-kings, the Hyskos, which were "an abomination" to the real Egyptians.

129. Mycerinus succeeds.

ἀπαδεῖν = "displeased." See Homer's *Odys.* xvi. 387:

εἰ δ' ὑμῖν ὅδε μῦθος ἀφανδάνει.

ἀνεῖναι = "let go free" (first used of cattle dedicated to a god, allowed to go free in the τέμενος without bodily labour).

τῷ ἐπιμεμφομένῳ ἐκ τῆς δίκης = "to one complaining and appealing from his decision."

περισσότερόν τι = "in some more extraordinary manner."

130. The strange burial of the daughter of Mycerinus at Sais.

οικήματι ἡσκημένῳ = "in a furnished chamber."

καταγίζουσι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην = "and they burn in sacrifice every day."

131. Another account of the wooden figures at Sais.

οἱ δέ τινες λέγουσι = "now some few say."

ὑπὸ ὄχρεος = "under the influence of anguish."

τάπερ = Attic ἀπερ = "the *very* things which." The particle gives emphasis.

132. The sacred cow of the procession.

τύπτωνται...τὸν θεόν = "strike themselves (on the head or breast) in honour of their god." It is generally supposed that *Osiris* is the god here alluded to. For the secret meaning of the burial of Mycerinus' daughter in the gilded cow, see Creuzer.

133. The prophecy of the oracle at Buto to Mycerinus.

συνταχύνειν = "would join (with the fates) in shortening his life."

οὔτε ἡμέρης οὔτε νυκτὸς ἀνιέντα = "relaxing neither by day nor night" ("giving up," as we would say).

αἱ νύκτες ἡμέραι ποιεύμεναι = "the nights having become days." The construction is that of the *nominative absolute*.

134. *Pyramid* of Mycerinus.

Ῥοδώπιος = "Rosy-cheek," a pet name. From Sappho we learn that her real name was *Doricha*.

οὐδὲ εἰδότες φαίνονται = "evidently in ignorance."

οἱ...ἀνέθεσαν ποιήσασθαι = "and attributed to her the having erected" (force of the middle verb).

κατὰ Ἀμασιν = "about the time of Amasis."

ὥς διέδεξε = "as was evident."

135. The wealth of Rhodopis.

ἐπαφρόδιτος = "very fascinating." Lat. "*venusta*."

ὥς ἂν εἶναι Ῥοδώπιν = "for one in the condition of Rhodopis." See Thuc. iv. 84.

ὅσον ἐνεχώρει ἡ δεκάτη οἱ = "as far as the tenth part of her property went," i.e. allowed her.

τοῦτο μὲν = "this *firstly*," followed, as we might expect, by τοῦτο δέ, "and this *secondly*."

136. Asychis succeeds Mycerinus.

καὶ ἄλλην ὄψιν, κ.τ.λ. = "and besides an infinite sight of buildings."

ἀμειξίης χρημάτων = "a want of circulation of money."

τῆς τοῦ λαμβάνοντος θήκης = "the vault belonging to the borrower."

ἀπογενόμενον = "when dead." So Thuc. II. 34 and 98.

μή με κατονοσθῆς πρὸς = "do not now despise me in comparison with."

137. Anysis, the blind king.

χειρὶ πολλῇ = Lat. "multâ manu" = "with a powerful force" (of soldiers). In Roman history "*manus*" is often used for a "*band*" or "*force*."

ἦδονῇ μᾶλλον = μέλζονι ἦδονῇ (Stiger).

138. Description of the temple at Bubastis.

ἐσέχουσι. This word, according to Blakesley, is used in a very peculiar sense, for Herodotus goes on particularly to remark that the canals do not *run into* anything, but approach one another within a certain distance, and then stop. It seems possible that in a locality full of canals, like the Delta of the Nile, the word originally used to denote direction for the *purpose* of *communication* came to be provincially applied in all cases where the appearance occurred of a channel cut for the admission of water. See II. 11, and II. 121.

δένδρεσι κατάσκιος = "completely shaded with trees."

κατορᾶται = "is looked down upon."

ἐγγεγλυμμένη τύποισι = "covered with figures sculptured in relief."

ἐστρωμένη ὁδὸς = "a road, laid down." Compare the Latin expression "*via strata*."

139. Sabacos terrified by a dream.

τέλος τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς = "the consummation of the departure."

ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἱ ἐξεληλυθέαι, κ.τ.λ. = "no, he would not do these things, for the time had fully passed away,—as much of it as he had been allowed by the oracle for the purpose of ruling and going out of Egypt."

ἔτεα πενήκοντα. Bunsen believes that, instead of this one monarch Sabacos, an Ethiopian *dynasty* of three distinct kings held Egypt for "*fifty years*," and their names were Schebek, Shebeh, and Thrk, i.e. Sabacos, Sebichus, and Tirhakah.

140. The blind king returns from his exile.

συγῇ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος = "clam Æthiope" = "without the knowledge of the Æthiopian."

Ἐλβῶ. Situated in the lake now called Menzaleh.

141. Sethos, priest of Vulcan, succeeds.

βασιλεῖα Ἀραβίων. It is highly probable, says Rawlinson (Vol. I. p. 450), that the Arabians formed an important element in the popula-

tion of the Mesopotamian valley from the earliest times. There are at the least 30 distinct tribes of this race named in the Assyrian inscriptions among the dwellers upon the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates; and under the later kings of Nineveh, the Yabbur (modern Jibbur) and the Gumbuler (modern Jumbulà), who held the marshy country to the south, appear to have been scarcely inferior to the Chaldeans themselves in strength and numbers. This may help to explain the statement of Herodotus (II, 141), of which Josephus complains that Sennacherib was king of "the *Arabians* and Assyrians," as well as the yet more remarkable passage where his army is termed exclusively "*the host of the Arabians*" (τὸν Ἀραβίων στρατόν).

142. Kings and priests from Menes to Sethos.

ἐκατέρους τοσούτους = "so many of each kind."

ἐξ ἡθέων = "out of his *usual* quarters."

143. The catalogue of the Theban priests.

γενεηλογήσαντί τε ἑωυτὸν = "having given an account of his own descent."

ἀναδήσαντι τὴν πατριὴν, κ.τ.λ. = "having traced up his own *family* on the *father's side* to a god, who was his sixteenth progenitor."

ἐπὶ τῇ ἀριθμῇ, κ.τ.λ. = "and they reckoned up a genealogy in opposition to his, on the ground of numbering (the statues)."

Πῖρωμις. According to Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. I. p. 17, the word *rômi* = "man," and "pi" = "the." Herodotus improves this by καλὸς κάγαθος = "gentleman." Compare "the Indian Bhrama."

144. Gods the first kings of Egypt.

καὶ τούτων αἰεὶ ἓνα = "and that one of these from *time to time*." Compare the Latin "usque."

καταπαύσαντα = "having *completely* stopped" (from being king)

145. Egyptian order of the gods.

δεδήλωται μοι πρόσθε. In Chap. 43, Bk. II.

κατὰ ἑξακόσια ἔτεα, κ.τ.λ. = "about 1600 years." Verseling would here alter the text, and read κατὰ ἑξήκοντα ἔτεα καὶ χίλια = "about 1060 years;" as there were only five generations from Hercules to Bacchus, and these generations, according to Herodotus' own calculation (Cap. 142), make about 160 years, and there were about 900 years from Hercules to Herodotus.

τῶν Τρωϊκῶν = "the Trojan war." Thucydides and Herodotus, the best authorities, place this about 1260 B.C.

146. Differences reconciled.

ἐς Νύσαν. There were several places of this name connected with the legend of Dionysus: the most famous of these was on the Indus. Herodotus again mentions the Ethiopian Nysa in III. 97.

ὅκη ἐτράπετο γενόμενος = "where he betook himself after he was born."

147. The oracle declares one general sovereign of Egypt.

προσέσται δέ τι, κ.τ.λ. = "and there shall be added to them something also of my own personal observation." Thus, observe, is Herodotus generally anxious to draw a clear line between that which *rests on the word of others*, and that which he has *seen for himself*.

ἰσχυρῶς περιστέλλοντες = "fencing them round with strong (penalties)." See III. 31, IX. 60.

ἐκέχρητό σφι = "it had been declared to them by oracle."

συνελέγοντο = "they were *wont* to assemble together."

148. The building of the Labyrinth.

κατὰ Κροκοδείλων, κ.τ.λ. = "especially lying somewhere *in a line with* that which is called the city of crocodiles."

λόγου μέγῳ = "too great for description." See Thuc. II. 50.

τὰ ἐξ Ἑλλήνων τείχεα = "the fortifications which proceeded from the Greeks," i.e. built *by them*.

ἔργων ἀπόδεξιν = "memorable buildings." See II. 101.

κατάσσεγοι = not "roofed-in," but = "colonnaded."

ἀντίπυλοι ἀλλήλοισι = "with gates *fronting* each other."

οἰκήματα (dim. of οἶκος) = "*chambers*."

τύπων ἐγγεγλυμμένων = "figures (human) having been carved in relief upon them."

149. The Lake Mœris described.

Μοίριος. Now called "Birket-Caroun."

χειροποίητος. If Herodotus meant that the lake, properly so called, was *artificial*, he must have been misinformed. He seems to have confounded the account of the canal with that of the lake, as is likely from Pliny's remark, "Mœridis lacus, hoc est, *fossa grandis*."

καὶ τὸ κατ' ὕδατος, κ.τ.λ. = "and the part under the water has been built to the same depth."

αἱ δ' ἑκατὸν ὀργυιαὶ δίκαιαι = "now these hundred fathoms are *precisely*."

150. Outlet of the Lake Mœris.

ὑπὸ γῆν. Rawlinson observes that "he is alluding to the natural lake, now Birket-el-Korn, not to the artificial Mœris. The belief in underground communication is still very prevalent in Egypt, as in other countries, to the present day, and might very reasonably arise from what we see in limestone formations."

Σαρδαναπᾶλλου=Juvenal's "Sardanapālus." Observe the quantity. The Assyrian name was Asshur-dan-pal.

ἐς τὸν Τίγριν ποταμόν. This is the usual collocation of these words in all dialects—article, name of river, river: the name having been originally an *adjective* and attribute merely.

151. Psammetichus fulfils the oracular prophecy.

ἀνὰ χρόνον="as time went on," or="in the course of time."

τὴν κυνέην, ἐοῦσαν χαλκέην="the helmet (lined with) *dogskin*, and composed of brass."

ὑπέσχε="held it *under*" that the wine might be poured into it.

οἱ ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ἐφόρεον βασιλείες="all the other kings, *without exception*, were wont to wear."

βασανίζοντες="applying the *touchstone* (of inquiry);" (from βάσσαρος="the touchstone").

152. The flight of Psammetichus to Syria.

ὡς ἀπαλλάχθῃ, κ.τ.λ. Supply ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου="when he got away from Egypt on account of the appearance of a dream." ἐκ="after," and so "in consequence of."

περιυβρισμένος="exceedingly outraged." The *περὶ*=περισσῶς, *intensive*. Compare Aristoph. *Knights*, 727:

ἔξελθ' ἵν' εἰδῇς οἷα περιυβρίζομαι.

χαλκῷ="bronze," not "brass," which is expressed by ὀρελχαλκος.

φιλα...ποιέεται="he makes things friendly to;" i.e. "makes friendly overtures to."

153. Improves the temple of Vulcan at Memphis.

κρατήσας δὲ Αἰγύπτου πάσης, κ.τ.λ.="now Psammetichus having got possession of all Egypt" (the accusative would imply rather that *he* held the possession of the country). This is confirmed by the close of the chapter, οὕτω ἔσκε; observe, not εἶχε.

154. The Ionians and Carians settled at Bubastis.

τοῖσι συγκατεργασαμένοισιν αὐτῷ="to those who *helped* him to complete his work."

παρέβαλεν αὐτοῖσι="and placed amongst them" (i.e. to their care). See VII. 10. 8, and Thuc. V. 113 with Gölle's note.

Κᾶρες. Rawlinson observes that the Carians seem to have been fond of enjoying themselves as mercenary soldiers from a very early date, and to have continued the practice so long as they were their own masters. According to some commentators the expression in Homer (*Iliad*, IX. 378), ἐν Καρὸς αἴσῃ, is to be understood in this sense. Archilochus certainly spoke of them as notorious for mercenary service, as appears from the well-known line,

καὶ δὴ ἐπίκουρος, ὥστε Κᾶρ, κεκλήσομαι.

The Scholiast on Plato says they were the first to engage in the occupation, and quotes Ephorus as an authority.

πρὸς Αἰγυπτίῳν = (a defence) "against the Egyptians."

155. Oracle of Latona at Buto.

νῆος ἐξ ἑνὸς λίθου, κ.τ.λ. Wilkinson (*Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. III. p. 331) reckons its weight at more than 5000 tons, supposing it to be of granite, like other monolithic temples.

τούτοισι = i. e. the height and breadth, thus forming a perfect cube.

τὴν παρωροφίδα = "the cornice."

156. A lake near the temple.

τέθηπα ἀκούων = "and I was amazed to hear it." This is our *idiom*; the Greeks put the *fact* into the *participial form*, and its consequence or impression produced into the *purely verbal form*.

Λητώ, κ.τ.λ. The story of the floating island of Delos, until it became the birthplace of Apollo and Artemis, was probably derived from an *Egyptian* source. The Egyptians, however, made Latona the nurse, not the mother of Apollo and Artemis.

Ἀρτεμις δὲ, Βούβαστις. See Juvenal, xv. 8:

"Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam."

Αἰσχύλος. The play here referred to is lost.

157, 158. Further deeds of Psammetichus: his son Necho.

Ἀζωτον. *Ashdod* (of the Holy Scriptures), a great city of the Philistines on the coast: it lay to the west of Jerusalem.

προσκατήμενος, κ.τ.λ. = "sitting down before it, he went on (Imperf.) besieging it, until he completely took it."

Βουβάστιος πόλις. According to Wilkinson the site of this city is now occupied by *Tel Basta*, standing on the side of a lake, as in the time of Herodotus.

Πάτουμον. This is no doubt the treasure city mentioned in the first chapter of Exodus, there called *Pithom*: it is now called Belbays according to Mannert.

διασφάγας = "gorges." Suidas: διασφάξ, διατομή ὄρους. Καὶ διασφάγες, διεστῶσαι πέτραι. See III. 117, VII. 199.

ἐκ τῆς βορρῆης θαλάσσης = "from the Northern Sea;" i. e. the Mediterranean.

ἀπαρτί = (speaking) "in an off-hand way." Some say "completely" (probably from ἀπ' ἄρτι).

μεταξὺ ὀρύσσων = "during digging." Lat. "*inter fodendum*."

159. Defeats the Syrians at Magdölus, and takes Cadytis.

Μαγδόλω. Rawlinson observes, "The place here intended seems to be Megiddo, where Josiah lost his life, between Gilgal and Mount Carmel, on the road through Syria northwards, and not Migdol (Μαγδωλός), which was in Egypt. The similarity of the two names easily led to the mistake (2 Chron. xxxv. 22). Necho had then gone "to fight against Carchemish by Euphrates," and Josiah attacked him on his march in the valley of Megiddo, "as he went up against the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates" (2 Kings xxiii. 29). Necho is there called "Pharaoh-(Phrâ)-Necho."

Κάδυτις = "Jerusalem." Which was called *Kadesh* ("the Holy" = ἱερο- in Ἱεροσόλυμα) after Solomon built the temple. This name is seen in its Arabic form El-Kôds. See, however, Rawlinson on this passage, for a full discourse of the difficulty in identifying Jerusalem in Cadytis.

160. Psammis, his son invades Æthiopia.

καὶ δοκούντες παρὰ ταῦτα, κ.τ.λ. = "and fancying that the Egyptians, who were *the wisest* of men, could not *possibly* have invented anything to be *compared* to them or to *add* to their completion." Observe how *ἄν* strengthens the *negative* here, as elsewhere, and compare the scriptural expression about Moses, who was learned "*in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.*"

ἅπαντα τὰ κατήκει σφέας ποιεῖν = "all things, without exception, which it belonged to them to do."

ἀπηγησάμενοι = "having told *in detail.*" Compare the Latin "*enuntiare.*"

161. The wars of Apries.

Ἀπρίης. Supposed to be the Hophra of Jeremiah xlv. 30.

Λιβυκοῖσι λόγοισι, in IV. 159.

ἐς φανόμενον κακὸν = "into evident ruin." Compare the phrase, προϋπτον κακὸν, Blomfield, *Gloss. to Æsch. Sept. c. Thebas.*

ἐκ τῆς ἰθείης—supply ὁδοῦ; exactly our "*straightway.*"

162. Amasis becomes leader of the rebels.

περιέθηκε οἱ κυνέην = "put around (his head) the helmet," the symbol of royalty. See above, the story of Psammetichus and his libation.

ἐπὶ βασιληΐῃ = "for a mark of *royal* authority."

οὐδένα λόγον αὐτῷ δόντα = "having given to himself no consideration." Apries is the subject; see I. 3, 4.

163. The Greek auxiliaries help Apries.

ᾤπλιζε τοὺς ἐπικούρους = "*proceeded* to arm *his* auxiliaries." The article is here *personal.*

εἶχε δὲ περὶ ἑωυτὸν = "and he was *wont* to keep around him."

164, 165, 166, 167. The castes of Egypt.

ἐπὶ τὰ γένηα. According to Diodorus Egypt was divided into three parts: the first of which belonged to the priests, the second to the kings, and the third to the soldiers. Plato in his *Timæus* divides the Egyptians into six classes, *ιερείς, δημιουργοί, νομεῖς, θηρευταί, γεωργοί*, and τὸ μάχιμον γένος. See Heeren, *Reflect.* Vol. II. p. 98, Isaiah xix. 7—21, and Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. I. p. 236.

κυβερνήται. Blakesley here observes: "By these we must understand not the pilots of sea-going vessels, but the navigators of such craft as those described above, by whom probably the whole internal traffic of Egypt was conducted, foreign bottoms discharging their bottoms at Naucratis. It is remarkable that in the enumeration of castes *artificers* are not named; certainly an important class, as they manufactured the papyrus stem into sail cloth (II. 96) and the flax into fine linen (III. 47). See Isaiah xix. 7, 9, Ezekiel xxxvii. 7, 2 Chron. i. 16. Possibly they are not named because the Hellenic traders may have had only to do with the middle men (κάπηλοι).

ἀνέονται = "give themselves entirely up to." (A favourite word with Herodotus; see below, ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνειμένους = "devoted to the war." Being first used of consecrating to *holy purposes*, as of cattle *allowed to go free* in the τέμενος.)

οὗτος ὁ νομὸς ἐν νήσῳ οἰκέει. The use of the phrase, *νομὸς οἰκέει*, says Blakesley, is paralleled by *νήσῳ, αἱ ναίουσι πέρην ἁλὸς Ἥλιδος ἄντα* (*Iliad*, II. 626), and to a certain extent by the address to Salamis in Sophocles:

ὦ κλεινὰ Σαλαμίς, σὺ μὲν πον
ναίεις ἀλίπλαγκτος, εὐδαίμων,
πᾶσιν περίφαντος αἰεί. (*Ajax*, 596.)

Zenodotus, however, altered the Homeric verse to *νήσῳ, οἱ ναίουσι*. The expression, *πόλεις εἰδὲ ναϊεταώσας* (*Iliad*, II. 648) and *ναϊετᾶν πόλιν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων* (*Il.* IV. 45) serve to show the train of thought which led to the phrase in the text.

168. Military tenure of lands.

ἀτελεές = "free from tax or impost." (τέλος = "*tale*" or "*tax*.")

ἡ δὲ ἀρουρα. This corn-land-plot contained 10,000 cubits, or 22,500 square feet. And the twelve aroure given to each soldier contained more than nine acres and a half.

τάδε δὲ ἐν περιτροπῇ ἐκαρποῦντο = "now they were accustomed to enjoy the following (privileges) as they came round to them in *their turn*." See III. 69.

σταθμὸς πέντε μνέαι = "five minæ in weight," equal to about 5 lbs. 5 oz. with ourselves.

τοῖσι αἰεὶ δορυφορεύουσι = "to those who happen from *time to time* to be body guards."

169. Amasis defeats and imprisons Apries.

μηδ' ἂν θεόν, κ.τ.λ. See Ezekiel xxix. 3. So did Ajax, Mezentius, and Capaneus impiously boast.

ἐν τῇσι πατρῷσι ταφῇσι. Heeren (Vol. II. p. 317) says: "It was not a matter of indifference where a person was buried. Certain spots were held sacred, and preferred to all others; because, according to the tradition of the priests, they were the spots on which Osiris, ruler both in the upper and under world, was buried."

ῥσκημένη στύλοισι, κ.τ.λ.= "fitted up with columns constructed so as to resemble palm trees."

170, 171. Tombs in the temple of Athene at Sais.

παντὸς τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίης, κ.τ.λ.= "connected with the whole of the wall of Athene."

ἐπὶ πλέον= "more fully."

εὐστομα κείσθω. Compare Soph. *Philoct.* 202.

εὐστομ' ἔχε παῖ.

172. Amasis becomes king of Egypt.

Σιούφ. Now *Safi*, a short distance from Sais, according to Bähr.

ἐν οὐδεμῇ μοίρῃ, κ.τ.λ.= "were in the habit of considering him in no great estimation." So in I. 134, ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται.

δημότην= "a plebeian." One of the lowest origin.

οὐκ ἀγνωμοσύνη προσηγάγετο= "it was not by senseless arrogance (Amasis) had won over to himself (the Egyptians)."

ὁμοίως αὐτὸς τῷ ποδανιπτῇρι πεπρηγέται= "that he had fared exactly as the foot-pan."

ἔφη λέγων= "he went to declare."

ὥστε δικαιοῦν δουλεύειν= "so that he claimed the right of reducing them (the Egyptians) to slavery."

173. Habits of King Amasis.

καταστάσει= "arrangement." Compare Lat. "dispositio."

πληθώρας ἀγορῆς. Some read πληθούσης. See however VII. 223. It alludes to that time of the day when the market-place was full, somewhere about ten or eleven o'clock in the forenoon.

εἰ γὰρ δὴ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἐντεταμένα εἴη, κ.τ.λ. Compare Horace's words:

"Neque semper arcum
tendit Apollo."

Indeed our word "relaxation" is but a metaphorical term from the loosening of the bow string. See Phæd. III. 4: "cito rumpes arcum, semper si tensum habueris."

174. Another custom of Amasis.

κατεσπουδασμένος = "in downright earnest."

κλέπτεσκε ἂν περιῶν = "he would, in that case, go about and *carry* on theft."

ἐς ἐπισκευήν = "towards their repair." See Xen. *Anab.* v. 3. 13.

κατέδησαν = "convicted and condemned," as opp. to ἀπολύω. See iv. 68, as "*binding down*" is opp. to "*loosing from*."

175. His building at Sais.

ὅσων τε τὸ μέγαθος λίθων, κ.τ.λ. = "of stones so great in size, and of certain *kinds* of stones, are (they built)."

ἀνδρόσφιγγας. These had the *head of a man*, with a lion's body, thus symbolizing the union of *intellectual* and *physical* strength: according to some they were placed before the temples as mysterious symbols of the Deity. The criosphinx had a *ram's* head, and the hieracosphinx had a *hawk's* head.

κυβερνήται = "boatmen," (see Chap. 164), who formed one of the castes.

πυγόνος = "the elbow," literally; yet here it is the distance from the point of the elbow to the knuckle of the little finger, which was thought to be equal to ten δάκτυλοι or five παλαισταί, palms.

ἐνθυμιστὸν ποιησάμενον = "having made it a matter of his serious consideration."

176. His adorning Memphis.

τὸν ὕπτιον = "the *reclining*" (colossus); an unusual position for a colossus.

τοῦ μεγάρου = τοῦ ναοῦ.

177. Census of Amasis followed by Solon.

τότε εὐδαιμονήσαι. This is *opposed* to the Scriptural account. See Jeremiah xlv. 30, xlv. 25, 26.

ὅθεν βιοῦται = "whence he supports himself," i.e. his means of living.

Σόλων. Not he, but Draco, for Solon actually lightened the penalty.

λαβὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, κ.τ.λ. Different accounts are given of the real origin of the δίκη ἀργίας at Athens. Heeren considers the *nomarchi* a kind of police.

178. Amasis gives Naucratis to the commercial Greeks as a trading place.

ναυτιλλομένοισι = "trading by sea."

Φάσηλις. Situated at the south-eastern extremity of the Lycian coast, near Pamphylia.

προστάτας τοῦ ἐμπορίου. Boeckh, in his *Public Economy of Athens*, defines ἐμπόριον = "a place for wholesale trade in commodities carried by sea." The *προστάτης* therefore of the emporium seems, as Wesseling thinks, to have discharged the functions of the modern "consul."

μεταποιεῖνται = "busy themselves *after it*," i.e. lay claim to it.

179. Naucratis the old emporium of Egypt.

ἀπομόσαντα = "having denied on oath" (properly "to swear off," *abjurare*).

οἷά τε εἴη = "it might be possible." Literally, "things were *such*, as to allow of."

180. Generosity of Amasis to the Delphians.

μισθωσάντων = "having *contracted*."

τοὺς Δελφούς δὲ ἐπέβαλλε = "it *fell upon* (to their share) the Delphians." See Herod. VII. 23.

ἐδωτίναν = "made an effort to collect small gifts." The verb is here in its *tentative* sense.

181. Amasis marries a Cyrenian.

μῆχος = "remedy," another form of μηχανή.

ἀπέδωκε τῇ ἐύχῃ τῇ θεῷ = "fulfilled her vow to the goddess."

ἐξω τετραμμένον, κ.τ.λ. "in the city of the Cyrenians, but turned so as to look out from it."

182. Presents of Amasis to the Greek temples.

εἰκόνα ἑωυτοῦ γραφῇ εἰκασμένην = "an image of himself *imaged forth* in painting."

θώρηκα λίνεον. See III. 47.

εἶλε δὲ Κύπρον. This could not have been done without a *fleet*, which Egypt did not then possess: probably effected by means of the Samian auxiliaries, as Amasis was then in alliance with Polycrates.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

THE OBJECT OF HERODOTUS. (From Dr Smith's *Dict. of Biogr.*
Vol. II., article Herodotus.)

"THE object of Herodotus is to give an account of the struggles between the Greeks and Persians, from which the former, with the aid of the gods, came forth victorious. The subject therefore is a truly national one, but the discussion of it, especially in the early part, led the author into various digressions and episodes, as he was sometimes obliged to trace to distant times the causes of the events he had to relate, or to give a history or description of a nation or country, with which, according to his view, the reader ought to be made familiar; and having once launched out into such a digression, he usually cannot resist the temptation of telling the whole tale, so that most of his episodes form each an interesting and complete whole by itself. He traces the enmity between Europe and Asia to the mythical times. But he rapidly passes over the mythical ages, to come to Cræsus, king of Lydia, who was known to have committed acts of hostility against the Greeks. This induces him to give a full history of Cræsus and the kingdom of Lydia. The conquest of Lydia by the Persians under Cyrus then leads him to relate the rise of the Persian monarchy, and the subjugation of Asia Minor and Babylon. The nations which are mentioned in the course of this narrative are again discussed more or less minutely. The history of Cambyses and his expedition into Egypt induces him to enter into the detail of Egyptian history. The expedition of Darius against the Scythians causes him to speak of Scythia and the north of Europe. The kingdom of Persia now extended from Scythia to Cyrene, and an army being called in by the Cyrenæans against the Persians, Herodotus proceeds to give an account of Cyrene and Libya. In the meantime the revolt of the Ionians breaks out, which eventually brings the contest between Persia and Greece to an end. An account of this insurrection and of the rise of Athens after the expulsion of the Peisistratidæ, is followed by what properly constitutes the principal part of the work, and the history of the Persian war now runs in a regular channel until the taking of Sestos. In this manner alone it was possible for Herodotus to give a record of the vast treasures of information which he had collected in the course of many years. But these digressions and episodes do not impair the plan and unity of the work, for one thread, as it were, runs through the whole, and the episodes are only like the branches that issue from one

and the same tree: each has its peculiar charms and beauties, and is yet manifestly no more than a part of one great whole. The whole structure of the work thus bears a strong resemblance to a grand epic poem. We remarked above that the work of Herodotus has an abrupt termination, and is probably incomplete: this opinion is strengthened on the one hand by the fact, that in one place the author promises to give the particulars of an occurrence in another part of his work, though the promise is nowhere fulfilled (VII. 213); and, on the other, by the story that a favourite of the historian, of the name of Plesirrhous, who inherited all his property, also edited the work after the author's death (Ptolem. *Heph. ap. Phot. Bibl. Cod.* 190). The division of the work into nine books, each bearing the name of a muse, was probably made by some grammarian, for there is no indication in the whole work of the division having been made by the author himself.

"There are two passages (I. 106, 184) in which Herodotus promises to write a history of Assyria, which was either to form a part of his great work, or to be an independent treatise by itself. Whether he ever carried his plan into effect is a question of considerable doubt; no ancient writer mentions such a work; but Aristotle, in his *History of Animals* (VIII. 20), not only alludes to it, but seems to have read it, for he mentions the account of the siege of Nineveh, which is the very thing that Herodotus (I. 184) promises to treat of in his *Assyrian history*. It is true that in most MSS. of Aristotle we there read *Hesiod* instead of Herodotus, but the context seems to require Herodotus. The life of Homer in the Ionic dialect, which was formerly attributed to Herodotus and is printed at the end of several editions of his work, is now universally acknowledged to be a production of a later date, though it was undoubtedly written at a comparatively early period, and contains some valuable information.

"It now remains to add a few remarks on the character of the work of Herodotus, its importance as an historical authority, and its style and language. The whole work is pervaded by a profoundly religious idea, which distinguishes Herodotus from all the other Greek historians. This idea is the strong belief in a divine power existing apart and independent of man and nature, which assigns to every being its sphere. This sphere no one is allowed to transgress without disturbing the order which has existed, from the beginning, in the moral world no less than in the physical; and by disturbing this order man brings about his own destruction. This divine power is, in the opinion of Herodotus, the cause of all external events, although he does not deny the free activity of man, or establish a blind law of fate or necessity. The divine power with him is rather the manifestation of eternal justice, which keeps all things in a proper equilibrium, assigns to each being its path, and keeps it within its bounds. Where it punishes overweening haughtiness and insolence, it assumes the character of the divine Nemesis, and nowhere in history had Nemesis overtaken and chastised the offender more obviously than in the contest between Greece and Asia. When Herodotus speaks of the envy of the gods, as he often does, we must understand this divine Nemesis, who appears sooner or later to pursue or destroy him who, in frivolous insolence and conceit, raises himself

above his proper sphere. Herodotus everywhere shows the most profound reverence for everything which he conceives as divine, and rarely ventures to express an opinion on what he considers as sacred or religious mystery, though now and then he cannot refrain from expressing a doubt in regard to the correctness of the popular belief of his countrymen, generally owing to the influence which the Egyptian priests had exercised on his mind; but in general his good sense and sagacity were too strong to allow him to be misled by vulgar notions and errors."

APPENDIX II.

THE PELASGIANS OF HERODOTUS. (From Muir's *Greek Lit.* Vol. I. pp. 51—57.)

"THE Pelasgians were considered by the ancients as standing to the Hellenes somewhat in the same relation as the Anglo-Saxons to ourselves. The Anglo-Saxon is a dead language, and a knowledge of it, consequently, is of little practical utility in the present day. Yet its study continues to be zealously prosecuted, as well on account of its philological as of its antiquarian interest. With the Greeks the case was different. The allusions in the extant classics to the Pelasgian dialects, spoken or extinct, are so scanty or so vague, as to prove that their affinities had never suggested matter for serious scrutiny. Philological evidence, therefore, of a tangible character, bearing on our present inquiry, fails completely. The substance however of the existing notices amounts, at least, to a general understanding, on the part of the Greek public, in favour of the views expressed in the previous pages, and which may be more distinctly stated under the following heads:

"I. That the term Pelasgian indicates a primeval family of cognate tribes and dialects, from which the Hellenic people and language derived their origin.

"II. While the neighbouring shores of the Mediterranean were occupied from the earliest period by races speaking a variety of radically distinct tongues, there existed no trace or memory of any language not essentially Greek within the boundaries of Greece itself.

"III. Those portions of the Greek population who were admitted to have retained, with their primitive seats, their native character and speech unimpaired, were considered, in right of this qualification, genuine descendants of the old Pelasgic stock.

"IV. The criterion for distinguishing, beyond the limits of Greece, a Pelasgic people from other alien tribes, was the resemblance of their language to the classical Greek.

"It will here at once occur to the advocates of opposite views, that this assumed harmony on the part of the native writers is disturbed

by a passage of Herodotus, which, while the most specific that has been preserved on the subject, seems also, on first view, at variance with the above theory. It has been subjoined entire, as containing a considerable portion of matter vitally bearing on this whole train of inquiry.

“What the Pelasgian language was I cannot distinctly say; but if we may judge from the Pelasgi who inhabit the town of Creston above the Tyrrhenians (and who were once neighbours of the people now called Dorians, for they formerly possessed the country since named Thessalotis), or from the Pelasgians of Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont who were once settled among the Athenians, or from any other tribes originally Pelasgian who have adopted other names, if we may judge from these, the Pelasgians must have spoken a barbarous tongue. If, therefore, the whole Pelasgian race were of this character, the Athenian people, being Pelasgians, on being converted into Hellenes must also have changed their language. For the Crestonians and Placians, while they do not correspond in dialect with any of the surrounding tribes, correspond with each other, which shows them both to have preserved the dialectical peculiarities by which they were distinguished when they migrated into those countries.

“But the Hellenic race from its first existence has always used the same language. Being originally weak when split off from the Pelasgians it increased, advancing in power, from small beginnings to a great multitude of nations, chiefly in consequence of many other barbarous tribes uniting with it.”

“Did this passage stand alone, it might tend no doubt to invalidate the views here advocated. In connexion however with others in the same work it assumes a different aspect. Apart from its historical importance, it also possesses value, from the lively manner in which it reflects some of the characteristic peculiarities of its author. On the one hand it displays that spirit of candour and diffidence in the discussion of obscure topics which forms a principal charm of his style; on the other, a certain vagueness both of argument and conclusion, consequent on the imperfection of the critical art, which may be considered less his own fault than that of his age. Hence, however valuable in themselves, the statements it contains will be found but little in harmony with each other, and altogether at variance with those advanced in subsequent portions of his history.

“The literal value of the passage, as affecting the present question, lies chiefly in the application of the term ‘barbarous’ to the language of those Thracian communities, as compared with the classical Greek. Some commentators have understood the phrase to imply not a different language but merely a rude or corrupt Hellenic dialect. But this interpretation, though in some degree countenanced by parallel texts of Herodotus, is here scarcely admissible. The word is one indeed of very loose signification. In its origin it denotes, like some similarly expressive terms in our own tongue, simply harsh, discordant, or unintelligible. Afterwards it came to indicate whatever was opposed to Hellenic, either in speech or by a natural transition in origin or manners; and may hence, in the familiar usage of classical times, be often translated

'foreign,' as the substantive 'barbarian' denotes simply foreigner. It is also occasionally used in its more primitive signification to express anything rude or savage either in character or language, and in this sense is applied even to people of admitted Greek origin. Upon the whole, however, in the spirit of the historian's general argument, there can be little doubt of his having meant to stigmatize the dialect of these tribes as a 'foreign' tongue, in the literal sense, compared with his own. On the other hand, it is not to be supposed that his opinion was the result of any actual analysis of its structure or affinities, a task for which Herodotus was probably as little disposed as qualified; nor, consequently, is his evidence, even on the least favourable interpretation, sufficient to disprove its connexion with the Greek. The two may still have resembled each other as much as the Swedish the German or the Spanish the Italian. In each of these cases the difference is such as to constitute, in the familiar sense, the one, a foreign tongue, as compared with the other, although in each the critical inquirer discovers a close affinity. The vicissitudes which these Thracian tribes had undergone, during several centuries of migration, might alone suffice to alter their dialect to such an extent as would justify the expression of Herodotus.

"In applying their case, however, to the nation at large the historian speaks somewhat diffidently. 'If,' he remarks in the sequel of the same context, 'the whole Pelasgian race were of this description, the Athenians, being Pelasgians, on adopting the Hellenic character must have changed their language.' He overlooks the question, whether it was not more likely that two petty tribes, wandering for centuries over the European continent, should have changed *their* language, than that an independent stationary Greek community should have undergone any such metamorphosis. The modern philologer must reason differently. With him the fact, admitted not only by Herodotus but by the general consent of antiquity, that the Athenians were an indigenous Pelasgian people, must amount to proof that the Pelasgic and Attic languages were substantially the same. There is no foreign element in the latter to warrant the belief of its having been subjected to any radical change not common to the other Hellenic dialects. The notion of so sudden a revolution in speech and habits as these Attic Pelasgians, with their neighbours the Achæans and Ionians, are supposed to have undergone 'on the Hellenic Ion being appointed general of their army,' as elsewhere stated by the same Herodotus¹, is chimerical. In historical times, examples occur of provinces attached to a great empire abandoning their own tongue, and adopting that of the dominant state. But this can only be the result of complete subjection to a conqueror of more advanced civilisation than the indigenous race. No such conquest of Attica is, however, recorded in Greek tradition. Not only do all other leading authorities² bear testimony to the pure 'Hellenism' of

¹ VII. 94 sq.; VIII. 44.

² Thuc. I. 2; Plato, *Menæx.* p. 245 D; Isocrat. *Panathen.* c. 132; conf. Clint. *F. H.* Vol. I. p. 57. By Plato and Isocrates the term Hellenic is here used as synonymous with that of Pelasgian in Herodotus.

its inhabitants both in character and dialect; but Herodotus himself¹, in his usual candid spirit of self-contradiction, describes them in the sequel as the most antient race of autochthonous 'Hellenes.' The same title to indigenous Pelasgic origin, combined with Hellenism of manners and language, is pointedly extended by both Herodotus² and Strabo³ to the Arcadians. The latter author further observes⁴ that the dialect of these mountaineers, owing to its close similarity to that which Dorian influence spread over the rest of Peloponnesus, came to be comprised under the common head of Doric. This correspondence between the language of the Pelasgian Aborigines of the south, and that of the Dorian immigrants from the north, described by Herodotus as the genuine Hellenes, is in itself conclusive evidence of a primitive community of Greek character in the two races.

"Another remarkable series of passages in Herodotus abundantly proves that, amid his crude speculations on these isolated Thracian tribes, he was himself under the habitual impression, common to the mass of his countrymen, that Pelasgians and Hellenes were radically the same people. Treating of the origin of the Greek religion he observes⁵, that 'the names of such of the gods as were not derived from the barbarians were of Pelasgic invention.' Here, therefore, Pelasgian and Barbarian are no longer synonymous, but distinctive terms. 'The Pelasgians,' he adds⁶, 'formerly sacrificed to the gods under no separate names, calling them generally *θεοὺς*, as having placed in order (*κόσμῳ θέντες*) the universe.' Here the Pelasgians are made not only to use the Hellenic name for the gods, but to form it out of another Hellenic root by a subtle exercise of verbal etymology. He then relates⁷, among other examples of 'barbarian' influence on the early Greek religion, how 'the Phœnicians, having carried off two priestesses of the Theban Jove, sold them as slaves, the one to the Libyans, the other to the Hellenes. The Egyptian woman, on her arrival in the district of Thesprotia, now called Hellas but then Pelasgia, becoming familiar with the Hellenic tongue, communicated her mysteries to the natives.' The Dodonæan fable, where this priestess was figured by a black pigeon, he interprets as allusive to her 'barbarous speech,' which induced the natives on her arrival, 'before she had acquired the Hellenic tongue, to call her the Pigeon, those who speak a barbarous language being held to chatter as birds.' She could hardly have acquired the Hellenic tongue from a Pelasgian people, had the two languages been radically distinct. But without scrutinising details, it is plain that, throughout this whole series of passages, the terms Pelasgian and Hellene as applied to the primitive population and dialect of Greece, are so entirely synonymous with each other and opposed to barbarous, that unless Herodotus be understood, in writing this portion at least of his work, to have been under a full conviction of their virtual identity, his text is altogether nugatory. In another passage he pointedly calls

¹ VII. 161.² II. 171.³ Pp. 221, 388.⁴ P. 333.⁵ II. 50.⁶ II. 52.⁷ II. 54 sq.

the Dodonæans Hellenes, in the most specific sense, as distinct from the barbarous races to the north¹.

"The Dodonæan sanctuary was long the most revered oracular fane of the Greek nation. Both Homer and Hesiod describe it as familiarly consulted by their heroes; but it can hardly be supposed that all civilised Greece was used to receive the divine commissions in an unintelligible dialect from a barbarian priesthood. In those days, therefore, the Pelasgian ministers of the oracle must have been Greeks. Aristotle, accordingly, in recognising the identity between their title Helli and that of Hellene, acknowledges the common origin of the two races, describing the Dodonæan territory, with others the primitive Pelasgia, as the 'most antient Hellas².' No classical author seems to have doubted that these ministers of Jove had, with their antient seats and privileges, maintained their language unimpaired. It is also evident, from the details given by Herodotus of his own intercourse with them, that in his time that language was Greek, as are the names of the three priestesses whom he mentions."

¹ IV. 33. The same is indirectly said of the Molossians (VI. 127). It need scarcely be added, that the term Pelasgian is habitually and constantly applied by the tragic poets to the aboriginal Hellenic population of Greece.

² *Meteorol.* I. 14.

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